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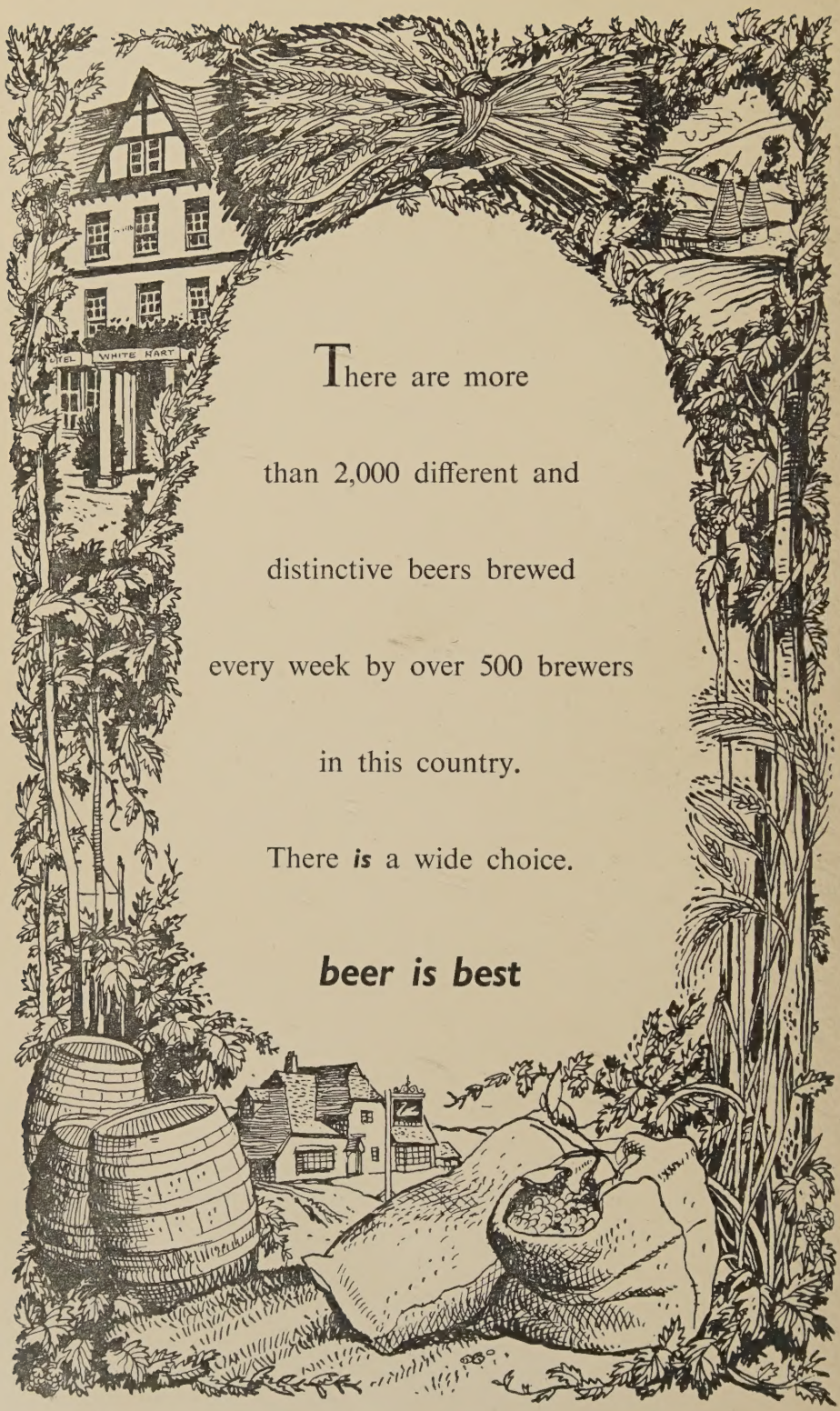

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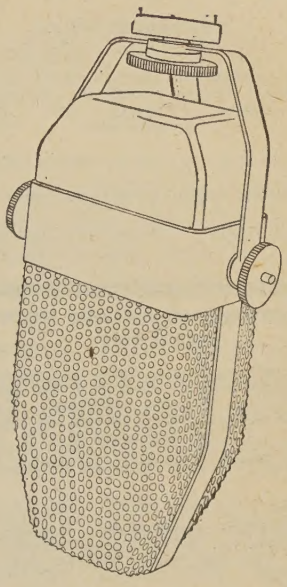

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THE FORTNIGHTLY

NOVEMBER, 1949

BRITAIN'S CRISIS AND THE COMMONWEALTH

BY W. FRIEDMANN

TWO exhausting wars have aggravated and accelerated Britain's crisis, but they have not created it. The changes in her military, political, and economic situation are due to factors which have operated with increasing intensity for the greater part of a century. A hundred years ago, Britain was not only by far the greatest naval power of the world. In a world of free international trade and sea-commerce, this naval supremacy meant much more than naval strength means to-day. It held together and protected effectively the different parts of the British Empire which were and are scattered over the whole globe.

To-day military power belongs to compact continental empires with well-balanced material, technical and scientific resources, within reach and control of the nerve-centres, resources balanced by vast industrial and military manpower and held together by an efficient system of government. Economic power no longer means just financial supremacy or the status of a world banker who can call on assets all over the world, convertible into goods and services. It now derives mainly from productive capacity which is based on a combination of natural resources, industrial skill, and scientific progress. This is the real cause of the economic preponderance of the United States, and of the chronic dollar shortage. The passing of financial preponderance is a secondary and derivative phenomenon.

Politically, Britain's weakening is due to the emergence of new continental States, which have altered the balance of power. Germany first upset the traditional pattern of British continental policy. The emergence of Soviet Russia and the United States has completely disrupted it. This is accentuated by the transformation that has begun of vast colonial territories, mainly in Asia, from objects of exploitation, colonization, and profitable trade into active and nationalistic sovereign States. Moreover, all these new States strive to make themselves eventually economically as well as politically independent. This means that, during an intermediate stage, the old industrial powers like Britain have the prospect of new markets, in particular for exports of capital goods. This market is self-defeating. Germany, Italy, Japan and other customers became increasingly independent and eventually competitors of Britain.

To-day new prospects are opened up in Asia, and here the transitory phase may last a long time.

All these factors have contributed for a long time to undermine the British position. They are, however, greatly accentuated by the present international tension, following as it does immediately upon the second and most ruinous of world wars fought by Britain. The liquidation of overseas assets which normally could have been spread over many years has been compressed into a few years of war, and the present international tension prevents the restoration of normal economic relations even within the limited possibilities as they exist now, by comparison with a century ago. Both eastern Europe and China, for example, now mostly behind the Iron Curtain, would, through a fuller exchange of raw materials and food against industrial products and capital goods, greatly ease Britain's economic problem. Present-day trade relations have to conform to the distorted and strained pattern of a world potentially geared for war. This contributes a further element of weakness to the position of a country which, like Britain, depends on an easy and world-wide exchange of goods and services.

How do these factors, culminating in the drastic devaluation of sterling, and a number of affiliated currencies, affect the structure and cohesion of the British Commonwealth and Empire ? First, it follows from what has been said that the British Commonwealth is not to-day a power unit comparable with the new giants, the United States and Soviet Russia at present and, perhaps, India and China in the not too distant future. The whole development of the British Empire has been centrifugal, not centripetal. The Dominions have reached a stage in which it is intended that the other part of the Empire shall follow in due course. This centrifugal tendency is shown in a multitude of developments, such as separate nationalities, which, since the Act of 1948, are only loosely held together by a Commonwealth citizenship, or the absence of common government or judicial institutions (there is neither a Commonwealth parliament nor a Commonwealth secretariat for political, military, or economic matters, and the remnants of the jurdisiction of the Privy Council in Dominion affairs are fast disappearing). Britain has joined several other organizations which are developing common institutions : the Atlantic Pact, the European Recovery Programme, the Brussels Treaty, and the Council of Europe. But there are no more than occasional conferences between the Ministers of the Commonwealth. The last war showed quite clearly that, for purposes of military or economic power, the Commonwealth and Empire are not one unit. Canada, Africa, Australia, India, and Far Eastern possessions were divided operationally, strategically and economically.

It is equally important to shed the illusion of a British Common-

wealth, all of whose members are held together by the ties of a close family relationship. This is good stuff for travelling politicians, and town hall speeches. But the reality is far more complex. The British Commonwealth of Nations resembles more the structure of an atom, in which electrons circle around the nucleus in varying distances. The further they are from the nucleus, the less energy is required for them to break out of the atom and disturb its structure. With the British Commonwealth, the closeness of the link does not of course depend on physical proximity. The Dominion which jumped out first was Eire, the one closest to Britain. The remaining Dominions differ greatly in the intensity of their links with Britain, and with each other.

The Union of South Africa is at present the loosest link. It has long had a separate nationality and gone beyond the Statute of Westminster in declining to accept the authority of any British statute, even if passed " with the consent and at the request of the Dominion." By a very small majority South Africa decided to join the last war, but the advent of a nationalist Government, means not only a ruthless anti-Coloured policy differing from the general trend of British Empire policy, but also increasing discrimination against the British. (As shown by a recent Act disqualifying British immigrants from voting for the first five years instead of the former two years after immigration.) If the present Government stays in power it will give the South African Constitution an increasingly authoritarian trend ; it is also trying hard to detach South Africa from the sterling area and the common dollar pool in London. Little more than anti-Communism, the danger of complete isolation and Britain's importance as a customer, keep South Africa at present on the side of Britain.

In some ways Canada—which now includes the former Dominion of Newfoundland—also seemed to move further away from Britain and the Commonwealth. She has long had a separate nationality, and has abolished all appeals to the Privy Council. Strategically, geographically and financially she is far more closely linked with the United States. About half the population is of French origin, and traditionally anti-British. But several important factors have brought Canada closer to Britain, though under conditions vastly different from those of a century ago. Canada has emerged as an important and stabilizing factor in international relations. She has joined the Atlantic Pact and is thus the only Dominion linked with Britain by a military alliance. She is becoming an unofficial mediator between British and American differences, as in the recent talks on the sterling crisis. Last, but not least, ties of race, tradition, and history enable Canada more than the United States to see in Britain the greatest remaining bastion of a socially progressive democracy. It is significant and encouraging that the leader of this new and enlightened

Canadian policy is a French-Canadian, her present Prime Minister.

Unquestionably, however, Australia and New Zealand, the two Dominions furthest away from Britain, have the closest ties with her. Australians and New Zealanders, although overwhelmingly of British stock (the Irish in Australia are the most important exception) may not always like the British as individuals. But they do feel themselves firmly tied to Britain's destiny. There never was any question about their immediate and wholehearted participation in the last two wars. Their ways of government, their law, their social habits and their whole cultural orientation are closely and sometimes slavishly modelled upon Britain. (This is shown by such habits as the prevalence of beer instead of the excellent native wine, the addiction to heavy English clothes, and the eating of turkey and plum pudding in the hottest season of the year, which happens to be around Christmas.) But there are also solid practical reasons for the closeness of these links. The main wealth of both Australia and New Zealand still depends on the export of their primary produce, and Britain is by far the greatest and steadiest of their customers. Britain takes over two-fifths of Australia's and over three-fifths of New Zealand's total exports. In return she supplies about one-third of Australia's and over one-half of New Zealand's imports, a proportion likely to increase substantially after the devaluation of the sterling currencies.

The structure of the Commonwealth has been profoundly altered by the conversion of two former colonies into the three Asian Dominions of India, Pakistan and Ceylon. The sovereign and equal members of the Commonwealth now contain a vast majority of coloured citizens. The constitutional structure has been further loosened through the Nationality Act of 1948, which made citizenship of a Dominion the primary factor, and Commonwealth citizenship the secondary factor. The last conference of Prime Ministers loosened the last constitutional link by enabling a State to remain a Dominion without allegiance to the crown. This makes it possible for the Republic of India to remain within the Commonwealth. The steady loosening of constitutional and governmental ties within the Commonwealth, and the recent inclusion of Asian nations, has however brought into relief and even strengthened the factors which still make the Commonwealth a living reality. They are not in the realm of military power. The decision of India, Pakistan and Ceylon to retain the special association with the power from whose domination they had struggled to be free shows that they regard the values of a democratic form of govermnent, of the principle of tolerance and respect for different nations and races, and the belief in social progress by evolution as genuine and worth-while foundations for a community of nations. This at least is the view of their

present Governments. The advent of fascist or communist régimes, owing to economic chaos, revolution, or war, would of course alter the picture completely. It is true that India, at least, has been willing to continue the association with the Commonwealth only at the price of the abandonment even of the symbolic unity of the crown, but the fact that she and the other Dominions of the Indian continent were anxious to retain membership is nevertheless significant. And as has been shown, Dominion status to-day does not any longer involve any specific obligation, military, constitutional, or economic.

Britain's financial crisis and the devaluation of the pound poses new and urgent problems for the Commonwealth and Empire. It may expose it to a new and altogether too severe strain, or it may, on the other hand, strengthen the existing ties by solid economic foundations. The whole of the Commonwealth and Empire forms at present part of the sterling area, with the exception of Canada, and the partial exception of South Africa, which does not fully participate in the dollar pool of the sterling area. Their financial links with the sterling area are, however, stronger than appears on the surface. British purchases from Canada (mainly of foodstuffs) finance Canada's deficit with the United States, for which she depends on much of her capital equipment. The ten per cent. devaluation of the Canadian dollar shows the degree to which Canada is economically linked with the sterling area. South Africa sends three-fifths of her exports to Britain while taking less than a third of her imports from Britain. Nearly half of Southern Rhodesia's exports go to Britain.

Outwardly, the professed purpose of sterling devaluation is to make British goods more competitive in the dollar market and thus to restore not only Britain's economic equilibrium, but also a freer flow of international trade through open competition. This is the cherished dream of most American economists and politicians. If sterling devaluation were in fact to lead to a restoration of free trade, at least within the western world, the economic ties between the Commonwealth countries would probably be greatly weakened. Most likely, however, the opposite will happen. Britain to-day must economically live from hand to mouth. She must stave off successive immediate crises and simultaneously work towards a better long-term balance of her economic affairs. The 30 per cent. devaluation of the British, Australian and other sterling currencies will probably lead to some immediate increase in exports to the dollar area : textiles, motor cars, pottery from Britain, wool from Australia. It will hardly do more than offset the recent 30 per cent. decline in dollar exports from the Marshall Aid countries.

But it would be little short of a miracle if the technical device of devaluation could alter the fundamental economic problem of the western world : the immense and ever-growing productive capacity

of the United States, which is not countered by any substantial dependence on imports of foodstuffs, or materials or services. In certain American industries production is already beginning to outstrip demand. Whatever a far-sighted administration may wish or promise, a majority in Congress is certain to stop any large flow of British or other sterling area goods if it were to compete seriously with American sales or lead even to moderate unemployment. American economic ideology cherishes the myth of free competition, but the reality behind it are strongly organized pressure-groups of industry, farmers, transport and labour, which have protected their interests by a gigantic network of high tariffs, subsidies, stabilization schemes and other means of government help. There is a far more real foundation for the Marshall Aid programme, which, at the cost of huge but temporary American assistance means to make Britain and western Europe economically more self-reliant. However, it is now clear that the results of this assistance, while spectacular, do not go far enough. One, perhaps the main reason, is the artificiality of the present organization of western Europe, which cannot form an organic economic entity without the mainly agricultural and relatively undeveloped countries of eastern and south-eastern Europe. To some extent, bilateral trade agreements, for example between Britain and Poland or Yugoslavia, can correct this organic defect. But in 1948, according to the United Nations Economic Survey of Europe, total inter-European trade was still only 69 per cent. of the 1938 level, reckoned in millions of dollars at 1938 prices, while the comparative index for east-west trade, including Germany, was 42 per cent. The dollar crisis will undoubtedly spur Britain to make further bilateral trade agreements with east European countries. But with the exception of Yugoslavia, they take their policy from Moscow, and they will therefore drive hard bargains with a Britain in need.

A recent article in *Fortune* speaks of Sir Stafford Cripps' "Fourth British Empire." The building up, with the utmost energy and imagination, of resources and economic relations within the Commonwealth and Empire is in fact now Britain's only long-term hope, the only serious alternative to excessive dependence on either the United States or communist Europe. Close association with the United States and western Europe is for Britain a political necessity ; but it cannot solve her fundamental economic problems. Some foundations for such a policy are being laid. Oil refineries which are being built in Britain and other parts of the Commonwealth will reduce dependence on dollar petroleum. Southern Rhodesia is steadily expanding her production of tobacco. Pakistan and India intend greatly to expand their production of cotton, hitherto largely imported from the United States. Australia will develop beef-cattle production in Queensland and the Northern Territory. Aluminium, 85 per cent.

of which is at present imported from dollar areas, may be produced in Tasmania and New Guinea. The African ground-nut scheme, under the auspices of the Overseas Food Corporation, and other schemes sponsored by the Colonial Development Corporation, may in time produce sufficient vegetable oils and other raw materials. There is not, so far, a comprehensive imperial development plan, but the different pieces are beginning to add up to a pattern. To the champions of free international trade, regulated by supply and demand and the price mechanism, this is an ominous development. But pious myths cannot displace the hard reality of a world situation in which only more self-contained groups of nations can counter the overwhelming and potentially dangerous American economic supremacy. Commonwealth and the countries of the Council of Europe might be linked by the extension of preferential tariffs or eventually a Customs Union to the whole area.

Time, however, is the greatest obstacle. It is difficult to see how the benefits of such a development could be felt in less than five or ten years. Large capital investment, scientific advice, irrigation schemes, technical training of Indians, Africans, and others, is needed. Nor is time entirely neutral. The coming years will be a particularly grave test for the strength of Commonwealth relations. The intensity of the present trade, for example, between India, Pakistan and Britain, is to some extent explained by the large accumulated sterling balances, which the former two countries hold in London. Once these are exhausted, they will have greater freedom of action. Then it will be seen whether the intangible values which to-day hold the Commonwealth together are strong enough to engage its members in a common task of reconstruction. That the world would benefit can hardly be doubted. In its absence, all countries will be more remorselessly absorbed by the contest between the two giants who, despite all the ideological warfare and all their present differences, may come increasingly to resemble each other, in their fanatical belief in the power of technological progress, the inevitable totalitarian organization of highly developed industrial societies geared for war, and, last but not least, in the increasing suppression of freedom of thought which is perhaps the most sinister aspect of the present race for world supremacy.

(*Dr. Friedmann occupies the Chair of Public Law at the University of Melbourne.*)

STRASBOURG AND AFTER

By Sir Harold Butler

THE Council of Europe is now an established institution. That is the outstanding result of its first session in Strasbourg. It opened in an atmosphere of general good will tempered by doubts in many quarters, even among some of its delegates, as to whether it was really a practical proposition. Some feared that the old national rivalries and antagonisms would frustrate this new attempt to organize Europe for common action, as they had frustrated similar efforts in the past. Others believed that the opposition between liberals and socialists, the *dirigistes* and the "free economists", would split the Assembly into irreconcilable camps. Others expected nothing but "a talking shop", a spate of vacuous oratory such as has so often made debates at Geneva and Lake Success a weariness of the flesh. None of these anticipations was realized. The Assembly displayed a sense of realities and a unity of purpose, which few would have confidently predicted.

Its appearance was strikingly different from that of the ordinary official international conference. Instead of national delegations sitting compactly behind their national flags or placards, seating was in alphabetical order, an arrangement which produced a subtle change in the outlook of the delegates. They were there as fellow Europeans working and deliberating together for a common end rather than as representatives of national interests. Their speeches were keyed to a European rather than a national note. The usual nationalist self-praise or appeals to the gallery at home were on the whole conspicuous by their absence. There was little oratory or calculated eloquence. The great majority of the speakers said what they had to say simply and quietly. The flamboyant style of the old French parliamentarians, such as Viviani or Paul Boncour, seemed to have gone out of fashion, as did the tiresome practice of reading out long, barely legible manuscripts. Most speakers stuck closely to the subject under discussion, and those who wandered were politely but firmly restrained by Monsieur Spaak, who has all the arts of a model chairman.

From the start the Assembly began to develop a corporate personality. It was not content to confine itself to the agenda drawn up by the Committee of Ministers, but demanded liberty to discuss a

number of other subjects, which the Ministers gracefully conceded. It did not consider its object to be an annual discussion of European affairs in the abstract, but to make concrete proposals, to which practical effect would be given. Though anxious to work closely with the Committee of Ministers, it was determined to have a life of its own. This tendency hardened, and by the end the Assembly had staked out a wide claim to become a truly parliamentary institution.

Evidence of this may be seen in the amendments, which it has proposed to the Statute of the Council of Europe. These seek to establish its right to approve or disapprove the co-option of States as new members—such as Portugal—or associate members—such as Germany—and its right to discuss and make recommendations upon " any matter within the aim and scope of the Council of Europe " as defined by the statute. It is also proposed that substitutes shall be abolished, but the number of delegates doubled, and that the secretariat should be responsible to the Assembly as well as to the Committee of Ministers. There is nothing revolutionary or unreasonable in these demands, but if they are accepted, the authority of the Assembly will be greatly enhanced. More important, however, than these alterations of the statute are the steps already taken by the Assembly to ensure its own continuity. Each of its five main committees will remain in being and will meet in order to prepare reports for the next session, while a permanent committee consisting of the president, the vice-presidents and twenty-three members has been set up. Its duty is to co-ordinate the work of the committees, to prepare the work of the next session, to remain in consultation, through the president, with the Committee of Ministers about the recommendations already made, and to deal with any matters arising between sessions. This is an important piece of new machinery, by which the Assembly has provided for its own continuous life and for effective contact with the Ministers. Some people see in it the embryo of a European cabinet ; others hope that the Committee of Ministers will gradually acquire that authority. At this early stage such speculation is more interesting than profitable. What matters is the creation of two political bodies with considerable potentialities, both entitled to speak, and perhaps in time to act, on behalf of western Europe.

The Assembly worked hard and produced a number of resolutions. Their main interest lies in the degree to which they are likely to contribute to the unification of Europe. As a beginning the code of human rights and the proposal to establish a European commission and a European court to enforce it are more important steps than might at first sight appear. All parties represented in the Assembly accepted them as the basic charter of European liberties. They constitute the test of membership for the Council of Europe. No

country which is not governed by a freely elected parliament and which does not permit all the essential freedoms will be eligible. The line separating the European way of life from the totalitarian way, whether communist or fascist, has been clearly and sharply drawn. There is no room for ambiguity. Neither Spain nor any of the Russian satellites can qualify for membership under their present forms of government. The peoples of western Europe are fortified to resist any dictatorial tendencies by the knowledge that the council would be promptly called upon to denounce them. The peoples of eastern Europe now possess a standard of comparison, by which they can judge how far their own régimes conform to their desires. If Germany accepts the Assembly's code and acquires membership, the maintenance of German democracy will become a matter which concerns not only Germany and the western Allies, but all western Europe. Under the Assembly's plan the safeguarding of democracy would be no longer an affair for each State acting alone, but the common business of the whole European community.

The recommendations on human rights contain, therefore, considerable political implications, not least with reference to the question which dominated Strasbourg—the admission of Germany. Everyone realized that that was the crucial test for European unity. Without Germany there could be no solid European structure. With Germany it might be exposed to subversive attempts to dominate or to overthrow it. That was the dilemma overhanging the Assembly, while the citizens of Strasbourg were frantically acclaiming Mr. Churchill outside, because in 1944 he had saved them from a second German occupation with all its apparatus of torture and death. Mr. Churchill himself pressed hard for the early admission of Germany. The Assembly agreed unanimously that the question should be dealt with at a special session early next year, but there was a general feeling that there were indispensable conditions : first, that Germany should offer some serious guarantee of good will and democratic conduct, secondly, that Britain should play a leading part in welding Europe into a vital and effective union, not just a collection of independent States. Those are the three political problems, which Strasbourg has brought into sharp relief. They are indissolubly linked. No one of them can be solved, if the other two remain unsolved. The Assembly looked them squarely in the face for the first time, in particular the British delegates, many of whom had not previously realized the full implications of the European dilemma. They saw that there could be no middle way. Britain had to take an unequivocal stand for or against a united Europe. If she decided to stand against it, there would be no unity, which could only mean ultimate collapse. As Mr. Aidan Crawley put it, " unless western Europe can unite—and I mean ultimately

federate—then in fact it will disintegrate, and I do not think the process of disintegration would stop at the English Channel." On the other side, if Britain decided to stand in with Europe, what would become of its relations with the Commonwealth or with the United States ? Would its standard of living be exposed to cheap European competition ? Could socialist planning be preserved from contamination in any kind of free trade Europe ? These and similar questions framed themselves uncomfortably in the minds of labour and conservative members alike. They were of course not totally unforeseen, but now they could no longer be evaded.

Although it was in no sense a constituent body, the Assembly was determined to come to grips with the constitutional question. At an early stage it decided to confide to its political committee the immense task of examining it in all its aspects and of making " definite recommendations concerning the modifications in the political structure, which it considers desirable with a view to a closer unity between them." Its report is to be ready by April 30, 1950. As the debates proceeded, it became evident that the growing self-confidence of the Assembly was in itself convincing many delegates that some sort of a European authority was both necessary and possible. " As an old parliamentarian," Mr. Morrison sensed " a developing parliamentary spirit in this new institution " and did not reject the notion of some sort of political union. Mr. Churchill adopted a similar attitude, emphasizing that he was not committed to a federal or any other solution. Mr. Harold Macmillan did not bar " some collective European authority with specific power to decide certain matters direct," while Mr. Boothby advocated " some merging or pooling of national sovereignty." In the last days of the session Mr. Mackay succeeded in formulating the general opinion which had been slowly crystallizing during the preceding weeks in a resolution which declared that " the aim and goal of the Council of Europe is the creation of a European political authority with limited functions but real powers." The adoption of that resolution by a large majority was perhaps the most significant act of the Assembly.

On the economic side a similar tendency developed. It was generally felt that the OEEC had failed to generate the unifying force needed to restore the economy of Europe. Its work was little understood by the general public and was therefore divorced from popular criticism and support. As Lord Layton said, " means must be found of establishing contacts between the framers of policy and those who have to carry out those policies in the fields, factories and workshops of Europe." He thought that the Council of Europe should mobilize opinion behind the OEEC, which Mr. Kristensen of Denmark regarded as a preliminary step to its assuming control of the OEEC altogether. Indeed, many delegates pressed for this

radical step to be taken at once, and though a motion to that effect was defeated, it commanded a great deal of support. As it was, the Assembly decided to follow up, and extend the work of the OEEC in liberalizing inter-European trade and requested that its documentation and its officials should be at the disposal of the economic committee of the Assembly. If this recommendation is accepted, the authority of the Council of Europe in the economic field will be greatly increased and with it the economic unification of Europe.

The economic resolution went on to demand that the Committee of Ministers should " establish as quickly as possible a multilateral system of payments, including the restoration of the inter-convertibility of European currencies," and that permanent machinery should be created " for consultation on credit policy between the central banks of issue, and for the co-ordination of credit policy." The debates on this paramount question were to some extent emasculated by the urgent demand of the delegates of the Labour Party that the subject of devaluation should be taboo pending the Washington negotiations. The decision to devaluate the pound had indeed been taken before the close of the Assembly. The fact that it was a unilateral British decision without prior consultation under the Brussels Treaty or otherwise with other countries inevitably deeply concerned has certainly caused lively resentment. Justly or unjustly it raised doubts as to British good faith and the genuineness of the professions of some British delegates at Strasbourg. Mr. Bevin can do much to repair the damage when the Committee of Ministers meets in November, but his task will not be easy.

The dismay caused by the manner in which the pound was devalued was all the greater because it was realized at Strasbourg that continental currencies were inseparably linked with sterling, a fact which the spate of consequent devaluations abundantly demonstrated. It was indeed—to a large extent—this fact which led the economic committee to make its most striking proposal. Instead of envisaging a European customs union it propounded the idea of " a European economic union, which shall retain the preferential systems and economic ties now in existence between certain European countries and the overseas countries and territories associated with them and to consider their progressive extension to the other member States of their union." It went on to propose an economic conference of the European nations represented in the Assembly with their overseas associates and territories, in order to work out common policies in regard to trade, preferences, development of natural resources and investment of American capital. It was even suggested that the final stage might be a negotiation between a delegation of the Council of Europe and the United States for the modification of existing treaties hampering the growth of inter-European trade and for stimulating

a large flow of exports from Europe to America.

The implications of these proposals are far-reaching indeed. So far from demanding the severance of the economic ties between Britain and the Commonwealth as a condition of British participation in any European union, the Assembly looked on their maintenance as essential and contemplated the further development of the economic relations between Europe and its overseas associates as necessary to the restoration of its equilibrium. In other words it recognized that Europe must look to the sterling area rather than to the western hemisphere for its foodstuffs and raw materials and for the markets for its manufactures. The present dollar gap could never be wholly bridged, but when it had been reduced by wider recourse to supplies from sterling and other non-dollar countries, the remaining unbalance might be successfully overcome if Europe approached the American Government collectively, a far more effective procedure than any bilateral negotiation could ever be. The programme put forward by the economic committee is a tacit admission that western Europe cannot achieve economic salvation by its own efforts. It can only become viable in partnership with the great countries of the Commonwealth and with the British, French, Dutch and Belgian overseas territories. Only on this condition can Europe become self-supporting and independent of American aid, and co-operate effectively with the United States in promoting an expanding world economy.

This first European Parliament did not promote discord, but achieved marked progress in drawing Europe together politically, economically and psychologically. It assuaged the doctrinal quarrel which threatened to split it asunder in a common sense way by declaring that "a union of free peoples implies central planning combined with a maximum degree of individual liberty." It brought the creation of a European authority with some limited powers within the range of practical politics. It has become a new political force in the world, as yet with little power but with obvious potentialities of rapid expansion. From the British standpoint it has pointed the way to surmounting some of the main difficulties in the way of our closer association with Europe. It has also shown that without the whole-hearted co-operation of Britain and in a lesser degree of the Commonwealth, a new and organic Europe cannot be built. It has suggested very plainly that on any other hypothesis the German question is insoluble and the ultimate decomposition of Europe inevitable. It has put forward a constructive programme covering the whole field of European integration. In dealing with it the Committee of Ministers will assume a heavy responsibility towards their own parliaments and peoples. They can make of Strasbourg a great beginning, or they can reduce it to futility. In any case the future of Europe is now dependent on its fate.

THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

By Robert Powell

GERMANY is to-day divided into two republics. The one embraces the three western occupied zones ; and the other, the eastern zone. The city of Berlin remains outside their control. It continues to be run jointly by the four powers : the U.S.A., Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. Both these republics claim to be representative of the German population within their borders and to have democratic governments.

Unfortunately, the interpretation of this term " democracy " differs very much as between east and west. The so-called German Democratic Republic of the Soviet zone will not seek the approval of the electorate until October 15, 1950. In the meantime, everything will be done to make Germany east of the River Elbe an appanage of Moscow. The German Federal Republic of the west, on the other hand, came into being only after its constitution had been deliberated by the democratically-elected parliamentary council at Bonn, and after a government had been formed on the basis of the free and secret elections. This Republic is not sovereign since it is limited by the terms of the Occupation Statute and by the rights which are still reserved to the Allied High Commission. Despite these limitations, the Bonn Government can operate much more freely and independently in internal matters than can the governments of most of the satellite States of East Europe.

Whenever the problem of the political future of Germany is discussed, whether it will be democratic or totalitarian, it is to the developments of the Bonn Government that most people turn their eyes.

This problem is not as easily settled as some observers imagine. A period of trial and error in which even many of Germany's best friends are going to be disappointed looms ahead. It would be rather superficial thinking to imagine that after what has happened here during the past two generations and after the mental and physical chaos left by the war, the Germans are going to emerge with the political wisdom of some of the western countries which have had uninterrupted developments for centuries. The way is going to be hard, and it is very likely that the type of democracy which will appeal to the Germans will stress the principles of discipline and order, and of

personal power for the leaders, far more than in Britain or the U.S.A.

The elections of August 14 last expressed the political will of nearly 40,000,000 Germans—more than 60 per cent. of the total population of this country. The results showed that two parties easily led over the others, but that neither was strong enough to form a government. The Christian Democratic Union (with its sister party, the Christian Social Union in Bavaria) won 139 seats and 32.1 per cent. of the total vote. The Social Democratic Party was a close runner-up with 131 seats and 28.5 per cent. Unfortunately, it meant that no one party secured a working majority in the total of 402 seats in the Bonn parliament.

This has made a coalition government inevitable. For a short while it was thought possible to form a government which would include both C.D.U.-C.S.U. and S.P.D. But the differences between them on economic and cultural matters are so great that such a partnership would be as unthinkable as one between the Labour and Conservative Parties in Britain to-day. As in all coalition governments, the question here has been the price at which the co-operation of supporting parties can be obtained.

The third strongest party, the Free Democrats and Liberals, brought 52 seats to the Government ; and their conditions would certainly not be hard—except perhaps in cultural issues. But still more support was needed before Dr. Konrad Adenauer, the new Chancellor, could be assured of the 202 votes necessary for a clear majority. This meant that he had to rely upon some of the other parties like the Bavarian Party and the German Party. In view of their extreme views on certain fundamental issues, this will be an embarrassment to the new Government. It may drive it further to the right than Dr. Adenauer would like to go, and further than is good either for German democracy or German co-operation with the western powers.

This danger was apparent in the first debates on the Government statement of policy, when the particularism of the Bavarian Party—whose spokesman claimed that " we are Germans only to the extent that we are Bavarians "—and the extreme nationalism of other leaders of splinter-parties, gave a foretaste of what is to come.

At the moment, however, it is probable that no single factor is more important than the character and ability of the new Chancellor. Dr. Adenauer could have become President of the Republic had he so desired, but he preferred to leave this office to Dr. Theodor Heuss, former chairman of the Free Democratic Party. Such a decision was determined not only by the fact that Dr. Adenauer wants to be in the thick of the political struggle, but even more because under the new Constitution his powers are far greater than are those of the President. This is one of the great changes from the Weimar

Constitution. Remembering the way in which a politically-incompetent President Hindenburg threw over his Chancellor Bruening and so opened the doors to Franz von Papen and Hitler, the Bonn Constitution makers determined to curb the President's powers in favour of those of the Chancellor.

How will Dr. Adenauer use those wider powers ? This is a question which remains to be answered. To many of his political opponents, and even to some of his own party, the new Chancellor is seen as a man of democratic convictions but with an autocratic temperament. They fear that to achieve his ends he may be tempted to ride roughshod over many democratic usages. Or, perhaps, it would be better to say that he would circumvent them, since his earlier political successes have been the result of skilful work behind the scenes, rather than of open attack. The manner in which the decision to make Bonn rather than Frankfurt the temporary capital of the Federal Republic has been severely criticized as an example of the way in which personal considerations were allowed to override the claims of federal economy.

Dr. Adenauer is a skilled politician who has been active in German public life since before the 1914-1918 war—with the exception of the Hitler period. As Lord Mayor of Cologne, he did great work for that city, until deposed by the Nazis. He is no friend of the British ; his friends say that he will never forget how they relieved him of his office in Cologne, in the autumn of 1945, because of alleged obstructionist tactics. In his official statement of thanks for what foreign countries had done for Germany since the war, Dr. Adenauer had not a word to say in appreciation of Britain's contribution. That country only came in for unfavourable criticism because of dismantling.

The new Chancellor is in a strong position because he knows that the Social Democrats could not overthrow him and form a government ; in fact that would be the last thing which Dr. Kurt Schumacher and his party could desire. Dr. Adenauer is probably the only man who can keep together this coalition government—and he will not be slow to act upon this fact.

This new Government has tremendous problems to face. The economic reconstruction of West Germany is the most important. Dr. Adenauer has pinned his faith to a return to free enterprise, to a removal of as many restrictions to trade as possible. How far he can succeed it is difficult to say in view of the conditions here. He obviously hopes that private capital from the United States will come to his aid. The repercussions of the fall of the £ sterling were a serious blow, right at the beginning of his term of office. It is not yet clear as to the effects upon German export trade.

This issue also brought the new Government into sharp conflict

with the Allied High Commission, whose determination of the new exchange rate of the Deutschemark was a forcible reminder to the Germans that the powers reserved to the commission under the Occupation Statute are real ones. This matter has now been settled, but all the speeches in parliament made it clear that the Germans are not going to rest until the high commission becomes a mere supervisory organization and the fundamental issues are left to German decision—except perhaps those of demilitarization.

The new Government has no Foreign Minister. But this did not prevent both the Chancellor and politicians of all parties from expressing freely their opinions on foreign policy. Dr. Adenauer refused to accept the Oder-Neisse frontier in the east. He also condemned the methods by which certain minor frontier adjustments had been made in the west. Less responsible deputies demanded the return of territories like East Prussia, and the inclusion of the Sudeten area of Czechoslovakia, in Germany. One speaker also included Austria.

It is difficult to estimate the extent to which the new growing feeling of nationalism is along healthy lines. There certainly have been some expressions of opinion which indicate chauvinistic tendencies of an unfortunate kind. One hears them occasionally in the corridors of the Bonn parliament also. But the western democracies will not help to build that ideal Germany they have talked so much about unless it is also realized that there are certain aims which neither the Germans nor any other civilized peoples will surrender. Naturally the politicians are loud in their demand for the unity of all Germany ; they will do everything to see their country rid of occupation troops as soon as possible, and will seek to make Germany once more an important factor in world trade.

Very much is, however, going to depend upon how these ends are achieved. It is already obvious that the basis of German arguments for political and economic changes will be found in certain Allied statements and agreements. Just as Wilson's Fourteen Points were used in protest against the Treaty of Versailles, so will the non-observance of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements, the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Charter be used against later actions of the four powers.

Whether the impatience of Naziism will be changed to a larger measure of patience in altering what the Germans consider unjust conditions is a matter for the future. The major political parties in the Bonn parliament understand the importance of restraint at the present juncture—if only because the need for foreign financial aid will be great for some years to come. Unfortunately, it is not possible to judge properly the size or importance of the extreme right elements in West Germany to-day. They were not properly

organized before the elections, and many groups prefer to remain silent for the moment. They will become vocal if the economic situation should deteriorate and there are large numbers of unemployed. The communists, who have only 15 seats (and 5.6 per cent. of votes), may benefit from such conditions ; but as long as the Soviet Union continues its present policy in their occupied zone there is little danger of trouble from the extreme left. What is lacking to form a judgment is the absence of reliable information as to the attitude of such groups as the Ruhr-Rhineland heavy industry. For it was not the communists who put Adolf Hitler in power. The guarantee of support from the Ruhr gave him the confidence to hold on until President Hindenburg made him Chancellor, on January 30, 1933.

It is also too early to determine whether parliamentary democracy will take hold in West Germany. Watching the debates which have already taken place in Bonn, one sees that the deputies have much to learn about getting action through parliament. Many of them are new to the task. They were too young to have been members of any Weimar Reichstag. Others were out of politics after 1933. It is evident that to most deputies, parliament is a miniature political meeting where little is done to win over one's opponent by convincing argument, and too much is thought of the outside audience. If this continues, then the old charge of parliament being merely " a talking shop " will again be heard.

The Germans still imagine that democracy can function in as quick and decisive a way as a dictatorship. The principle of " live and let live " is not easily learned, especially in these days of uncompromising political and economic doctrines. This observer at Bonn felt that the uncomfortable glare of lights from 500 bulbs in the parliamentary restaurant was an indication of the direct results which some party politicians will seek to achieve in the Chamber upstairs. A system of indirect lighting would have given sufficient light and been more pleasing to everybody. In the same way, more use of the art of compromise on unessential issues will make parliamentary discussions friendlier and more effective.

(*The author writes from Germany where he has been living since the end of the war.*)

POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

By H. S. Deighton

SINCE its complete defeat over its declared policy of resistance to the establishment of an independent Jewish State in Palestine very little has been heard of the Arab League. From the moment of its formal constitution after the conference held under Egyptian auspices at Alexandria in 1944, the League had a bad press in the west. There were at least two good reasons for this—quite apart from any additional reason which may have arisen from Zionist influence or sympathy among the organs of opinion. For those with leftist or even middle reformist opinions, as for those invincibly suspicious of British imperialism (only the British reader who, with misguided insularity, limits his newspaper reading to the press of his own country and excludes that of the United States, can fall into the widespread error of believing these things to be synonymous), the formation of the League looked very much like just another attempt to maintain the *status quo* in the political life of its member States and thereby to protect British or Anglo-American imperial interests. As such it was widely regarded as a real hindrance to the replacement of anachronistic and usually corrupt rêgimes by governments which might make some attempt to tackle the, admittedly immense, social and economic problems of the Middle East. Thus for that well-meaning and happily large, although not necessarily well-informed class of persons who merit the broad description of " men of good will " and who are, in general, accustomed to give more weight to social and economic than to political considerations, the League was suspect from the start.

For other reasons it was almost equally suspect among a majority of those whose familiarity with the area and its problems entitled them to be regarded as experts. The unity once imposed by the Ottoman Empire (as by the Byzantine Empire before it) upon the lands around the eastern Mediterranean has for centuries been a thing of the past. Not even the mainly Arabic-speaking area stretching from the Taurus mountains south to Aden and from the western borders of Persia almost to the Atlantic, had for centuries known anything but the most shadowy and for practical political purposes, unreal cohesion. The Barbary corsairs and the complete irrelevance of their nominal subjection to Constantinople were political realities

familiar to Oliver Cromwell hundreds of years before the English through Lord Cromer ruled an Egypt of which the Sultan was still in name the suzerain. The many differences among the Arabic speaking peoples had impressed themselves upon the Englishmen who worked, through Arab nationalism, for the downfall of Turkish rule during the years 1914-1918. Many of those differences were accorded official recognition in the map which recorded the peace settlement after that war, by the creation of a number of small successor States and, for English experts at any rate, their existence was abruptly and painfully demonstrated when, only a few years after victory, the Hashimite power in Mecca and Arabia, upon which they had sought to base the entire political structure of Arab nationalism, was swept away by the victorious Abdul-Aziz Ibn Saud. It is not surprising that many thought more of the conflicts of interest between the Syrian politicians and the Emir of Transjordan, as he then was, with his known ambitions towards the kingship of a Greater Syria, of Lebanese Christians and Syrian Moslems, of Hashimite Iraq and Saudi Arabia, than of the mere verbal unity of the political leaders at Alexandria. Most striking of all, perhaps, to the experienced commentators, was the unnatural alliance, and as it seemed, the apparently assumed identity of peasant Egypt and the more pastoral peoples of Arab-Asia.

All this opinion will no doubt have been confirmed by the military successes of the new State of Israel. The League may survive, or not. It cannot but undergo drastic changes, in fact, if not in appearance, after the blows it has recently endured. A very likely fate is that it will remain, as it were, " on the Statute book " and be quietly disregarded by its once more competing and conflicting makers, rather in the manner of the fate of the Anglo-Russian alliance. It remains only to ask whether there was more in it than mere political expediency. " *La Ligue a besoin d'ennemis*, " shrewdly said a French, and therefore an unfriendly, commentator, shortly after its creation. Hostility to the French in Syria and to Jewish ambitions in Palestine was the cement which at first held it together. Now that there is no longer any single common enemy whom it would be anything but folly to challenge, the member States may be expected perhaps to fall back into mutual rivalries.

It is apparent that the history of the area has entered upon a new phase, although it should be noted that there is often more justification for the application of this hackneyed phrase to Middle Eastern than to other histories. It is a notable characteristic of the story of oriental peoples in modern times, and one which they certainly do not share with their western neighbours, that their development falls for the most part into easily recognizable divisions. The chapters into which the historical writer concerned with modern Europe is

obliged to divide his books, or the periods into which examiners and teachers are accustomed to break up the history of the western world, are for the most part arbitrary ones which often owe their existence to the convenience of the historian rather than to the nature of his subject matter. With oriental history the case is very different, perhaps because for the last two or three hundred years the great events of the history of eastern peoples have been the result of impacts and stimuli from the west. The future editors of a comprehensive history of the Indian Peninsula, for example, will, it may be safely assumed, begin a new volume with the emergence of the two dominions of India and Pakistan, just as the historian of the Middle East cannot fail at least to start a section with the arrival of Bonaparte in Egypt in 1798, or to turn over a new page after the final extinction of the Ottoman Empire in 1918. The chapters in the history of the modern period in the Middle East are all equally well marked ones and it is safe to say that a new chapter, at any rate in the story of British relations with the peoples of the area, has been opened with the achievement of the Zionist dream of an independent State of Israel and with the signal defeat of many of the objects of recent British policy of which that State is significant.

The British Government, by their sponsorship and material assistance, were one of the League's creators. A decision as to whether or not to continue the policy of encouraging Arab unity is one of those, not least in importance, even at this time, that they must now make. The moment is therefore appropriate for some consideration of the nature of the very great British interest in the area and for a short review of the policies which this interest has led the Government to pursue in the past. In the present century as throughout the last, the Middle East has provided one of the major preoccupations of the diplomatists of all the great powers. The problem with which they were faced was usually known until 1918 as the " eastern question ". The virtually world wide nature of the interest of the great powers in modern times has made that title even more inappropriate than the expression " Middle East " itself. But the problem remains and in its essence is the same as that which faced the statesmen of the last century. It arises from the fact that the area of the Straits and the Isthmus of Suez has been for almost two centuries, militarily the most important single area in the world. This importance has been greatly increased in modern times by the development of the Middle Eastern oil fields, whose strategic value first received signal recognition when, a few years before the outbreak of war in 1914, Mr. Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, bought for the British Government a substantial share in the oil industry of Iran—just as half a century earlier Disraeli had acquired an interest in the Suez Canal. To-day the importance of

good supplies of oil in the considerations of the strategists and therefore of the diplomatists is so great as perhaps to be decisive.

At the beginning of modern times the whole of this area lay under the rule of the Ottoman Sultans who provided a by no means contemptible administration for it. The eastern question arose from the fact that since the seventeenth century, the peoples and governments of the Middle East had become progressively weaker, both actually and relatively, in the face of their north western and later their north eastern neighbours. The problem in these simple terms was, and is, that these lands, although their fate is regarded as of the first importance by the governments of all the great powers, are yet themselves not under the direct control of any great power. They are unable to take up and maintain a policy of their own in the face of a big neighbour without the assistance of another equally big, who, being obliged to pay the piper would certainly call the tune. Thus in effect although not in status, the peoples of the Middle East are both diplomatically and technically still dependent peoples.

To-day the British Government are faced with a situation in which they dare not contemplate the Middle East under the domination of a potentially rival great power. In this situation, which has existed since the time of Bonaparte, there have been only three lines of action which were even theoretically practical. They could attempt to rule the area. They could seek to gain their ends by encouraging and making use of the many existing differences among its peoples, or they could attempt to collaborate with the existing régimes. The first course has never been practically possible—neither the material nor the human resources, nor the climate of opinion necessary for it have ever existed. The policy of ' divide and rule ' is not so impractical and it has never lacked supporters in Britain, at any rate until the recent and complete breach between British policy and Zionist ambitions. Nor on a small scale has this policy lacked active exponents in the area, for it was by actively encouraging the dissident minorities of Syria and the Lebanon and by exaggerating the importance and influence of minority communities such as the Alawis of Latakia, that the French attempted, between the wars, to maintain their supremacy in those lands, mandated to them in the first peace settlement. The concern of French governments with the Middle East has always been much more secondary than that of the Foreign Office. It would be not unreasonable to describe it as a matter of sentiment and prestige rather than of vital interest. And circumstances elsewhere have made it almost impossible for the French to encourage a pan-Arab policy, just as they found it impossible in the nineteenth century to tolerate the ideas of pan-Islam. For although their interest in the Middle East and indeed in the whole Moslem world was much smaller than that of the British, there was

one consideration which must inevitably make them pause before condoning or encouraging the rise of movements likely to lead to majority rule in lands mainly inhabited either by Arabic-speaking or by Moslem peoples. Unlike Britain, whose nationals in such countries are few in number and temporary, the French must always bear in mind the possible fate of two million metropolitan Frenchmen who live among three or four times their number of Moslems in North Africa.

Unencumbered by such considerations the British Government have consistently pursued a policy of collaboration and support towards the Moslem majorities of the Middle East. In the nineteenth century this policy, often derided and condemned as " bolstering up the Turk " took the form of a consistent support of the Ottoman Empire, reinforced towards the end of the century by the garrisoning, and annexation in everything but name, of the more vital parts of that Empire like Egypt and Cyprus. With the new century, when the Sultan turned towards Hohenzollern Germany, and the unity of Islam began to crack under the strain of Turkish and Arab rivalry, Britain recast her policy along the lines of collaboration with the Arabic-speaking peoples. In the 1830's, when Egypt under the leadership of Muhammad Ali had made a bid for Middle Eastern hegemony, Britain had resisted him, Lord Palmerston declaring that he did not see the possibility of an empire of Arabic-speaking peoples with its centre in Cairo proving such a suitable occupant of the route to India as the Sultan was. During and after the 1914-1918 war, under the impact of Turkish hostility, the British Government took up this discarded policy. But it was no more than the application to the new circumstances of the old principle of collaboration with Moslem majorities, once Turkish, now Arabic led. It was of course based, as all British policy in the Middle East must be, in the final analysis, upon strategic considerations. In its application after the first war there were many inconsistencies, not the least of which of course was the sponsorship of the " national home " in Palestine. Just before the outbreak of the second war came the policy of the White Paper, which meant in effect that the British Government had abandoned their intention of affording further positive support to Zionist ambitions. This policy, whose inception is to-day often anathematized as if it were a sort of Middle Eastern Munich, really marked a return, disastrous to the hopes of many thousands of persecuted people but none the less a perfectly legitimate and understandable one, to the fundamental British objective of securing a friendly majority in the area in time of military crisis. As the approach of the crisis became apparent, so more and more did immediate military considerations figure in the action of British governments.

During the war this policy produced many disagreeable features. It meant, for example, the playing down of the many gallant interventions on the Allied side of Jews from Palestine, as commandos, parachutists and in other ways, out of deference to what was imagined to be Arabic feeling. It led to the rigid insistence for the same reason upon the policy of limited immigration into Palestine, with resultant tragedies of refugee ships, like the *Struma* and the *Salvador*, and the *Patria* which was deliberately sunk in Haifa harbour by Jewish extremists with a loss of over two hundred lives. But it is much too readily and commonly condemned as a failure. Whatever its disagreeable features, and of them there were plenty, British policy did not fail, even after the collapse and subsequent positive hostility of the French. There was one brief and only momentarily dangerous episode when in the one area of Iraq, Arab arms were turned against the British, but this was as much a phase in the permanent strife of Iraqi politics as a symptom of either anti-British or pro-German feeling. Perhaps the recent startling successes of Jewish arms have led to an unreal assessment of the possible worth of full Jewish military support during the war and of the relative worthlessness of Arab military power. Such considerations miss the main point of a policy of co-operation with the Arabs which never sought military assistance from them, but was designed always to see that the use of Middle Eastern bases should be unimpeded by the hostility of large parts of the majority populations. In this the policy was greatly more successful than has generally been recognized. In 1942 the Wafd Government in Egypt stood firm in spite of undoubted and understandable anxieties. More important still the population, no doubt for the most part ignorant of and indifferent to the great issues at stake, remained passive and took no advantage, as strongly hostile groups would have done, of the temporary but grave British difficulties. Over a quarter of a million Egyptians were at this time employed in one way or another upon skilled or semi-skilled work directed to the war effort, tens of thousands of them in actual ordnance establishments, whose activities included the building of large armed motor vessels in the shipyards of Cairo. Those who belittle the success of British policy at this time should consider for a moment the utter impossibility of holding Egypt in 1942 had there been, as there might well have been, a strong resistance movement among Egyptians, anxious to act by strike or sabotage.

Since the war there has been little but rebuffs for the Foreign Secretary in the Middle East. From the repudiation of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty to the bankruptcy of the Arab League, the policy of pursuing Arab friendship has produced many losses and paid very few dividends. While the Jews of Palestine have been so seriously antagonized that it is hard to believe that shrewd observer of Jewish

opinion, Mr. Arthur Koestler, when he lately asserted that there had existed until very recently a real prospect of a Jewish Dominion adhering gladly to the Commonwealth. Something of this kind has had powerful advocates in English politics, among them Mr. Churchill to whose mind Zionism seems always to have made a deep appeal, and, on the other side, Mr. Richard Crossman in whom an anxiety to help the Jews in their plight has been the complement of a desire to encourage the growth in the Levant of a potential social-democracy of which the virtues would perhaps shine among its backward and corrupt neighbours rather as, before the war, the Czechoslovak Republic appeared to liberal-minded Englishmen to shed light upon the sordid little Ruritanias of eastern Europe.

Here, once again, we are face to face with the moral problems which have divided the opinions of Englishmen and dogged the fortunes of British policy since so much Christian and Liberal opinion first criticized the 'bolstering' of the Sultan's infidel and reactionary empire. For the past decade much the greater part of the considerable amount of moral indignation generated in western countries about the Middle East, has been engaged either in support of Zionism or on behalf of the many millions of Arabic-speaking peoples whose social backwardness, disease and poverty could readily be mitigated if their rulers were more efficient, less corrupt or even interested. For this reason, too little attention has been paid to the fact that the resistance which so many British officials in the Middle East have shown to political Zionism has always had a substantial moral basis, in addition to its more widely publicized sources, such as snobbery, lack of imagination, or anti-Semitism. It is true that Arabs have long had a fascination for many Englishmen which may have no deeper roots than mere romanticism or self-flattery. But it is equally true, and a great deal more important, that many practical and influential men have embarked, for more substantial and worthy reasons, along the stormy and usually singularly unrewarding course of sympathy for Arab nationalism. In a recent book of reminiscences that most experienced and most successful administrator, Russell Pasha, for many years commandant of the Cairo police speaks of his responsible and intimate connection with the disorders which were so characteristic of the progress of Egyptian nationalism, as "disagreeable", for, he says, "though the police is always on the side of law and order yet one had much sympathy with what was moving the Egyptians so deeply." Among British people in general, as elsewhere in the western world, there is still a strong preponderance of feeling for nationalist movements and for the principle of self-government. In the affairs of the Middle East, sympathy for Arab aspirations has been for some years obscured by the special case of the Jews—but it seems unlikely that there will ever be adequate popular support in

Britain and the United States, even if there were practical advantages to be expected from it, for a change of policy whereby the two English-speaking peoples sought to secure their vital interests in this area, no longer through the friendship of the majority but by casting themselves for the contentious rôle of protector of the minorities.

The ending of the acute stage of Anglo-Jewish conflict may lead to a more widespread understanding of the traditional British policy in the Middle East. But this in itself, is unlikely to result in that concord between national interest and public scruple which has so consistently evaded British Foreign Secretaries in their dealings with it. For circumstances, particularly in periods of crisis like the past ten years, have consistently obliged the British governments to collaborate with régimes whose capacity and integrity left almost everything to be desired. Too often the fact of British collaboration with Arab rulers has led to the feeling that Britain is in some way responsible for Arab miseries. Yet, there is no reason to suppose that if existing régimes were pushed over, or allowed to fall, they would have more satisfactory successors—in the Middle East there is as yet no Congress to take over from the princes. There is indeed, a growing middle class of opinion, which sees much that needs doing and which looks increasingly at social problems with eyes illuminated by western thought. It was upon such people, rather than upon the opportunism of their rulers, that reasonable hopes for the Arab League were placed. But for these, in whom the best hopes of the future still lie, the essential condition of their fulfilment is the maintenance of a strong western influence upon their rulers.

Since the war the traditional British policy in the Middle East has been pursued in the attempt to work with the forces represented by the Arab League. If it has met with many failures, it must be said that it was initiated at a time when, no doubt naïvely, it was assumed that there would be co-operation among the great powers after the war—and that it has succeeded in its first objective which has been as always, to prevent the outbreak of a major disturbance in the Middle East at a time when the world itself might very well have been afflicted by a major war. In the future this objective will be the same —and it is much more easy to suggest modifications in a hundred particulars than to make a case for any big change in the traditional policy.

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND THE STATE

By Frank Hill

"THE review of the structure and functions of local government is a constant preoccupation of the Government, but we cannot tell when the review will fructify." With this formula the Minister of Health announced to parliament on June 27, 1949, the intention of the Government to dissolve the Local Government Boundary Commission, and so to relegate the whole question of local government reform to the capacious pigeon-holes of the Ministry of Health.

The evident intention of the Government to do nothing to fill the void left by the dissolution of the Commission makes it the more important that the public should realize the grave position to which local government in England has been brought by encroachment upon its province. With every session of parliament the process of attrition is carried further. It is true that there have been many warnings : the word " crisis " has been often used, in particular by Professor Robson, who has added a prologue on " Local Government in Crisis " to the second edition of his book *The Development of Local Government* (1947). But a generation used to a crisis every few weeks is not easily moved by warnings. Discussion of the effect of extending State activity to local government leads to comparison with like effects upon trade unions, friendly societies, hospital committees, universities and churches ; and apprehension issues in a general lamentation upon the decline of liberty, powerfully aided by quotations from John Stuart Mill and Lord Acton.

Unfortunately generalizations are not enough to carry conviction. Furthermore they have the disadvantage that they can be countered by generalizations in the opposite sense. Counter generalizations on local government have not been wanting. Perhaps the broadest of them were uttered by Mr. Bevan when he addressed the Association of Municipal Corporations at Eastbourne in 1946 : " Local authorities not only lose ; they also gain ; they gain many functions, and will gain more and more, because in the society of the future public activities are going to be rather greater than they have been in the past, and therefore the obligations of civic life and the functions of local government will be enlarged." This rhetorical non-sequitur was followed by an expression of conviction " that we are going to

broaden its functions and enrich its administration and add to its significance in the social life of our people". Professor Cole has been more definite. In his *Local and Regional Government* (p. 30) he says: "On the whole, however, the new duties laid upon local authorities have been much more numerous and important than those which have been taken out of their hands; and both local councillors and officials have much more to do than ever before."

So bold a statement, made, it is true, in 1947, must be brought to the test of fact. Here is a list of recent statutes adversely affecting the powers of local authorities—it may not be exhaustive:

1. Education Act 1944, which abolished Part III authorities and transferred their powers to county councils, and gave the Minister power to direct education authorities to such an extent that they can do little of importance without the approval of the Minister.
2. Police Act 1946, which amalgamated non-county borough police forces with county forces, and provided procedure for compulsory amalgamation of small counties and county boroughs.
3. The National Health Service Act 1946, which nationalized hospital services, and limited domiciliary welfare services to counties and county boroughs.
4. Electricity Act 1947, which nationalized municipal electricity services.
5. Fire Services Act 1947, which transferred the fire service to county and county borough councils only, gave the Minister power of detailed control, and control of appointment of chief officers, and laid down procedure for compulsory amalgamation of county and county borough forces.
6. Transport Act 1947, which provided for the nationalization of municipal transport.
7. Town and Country Planning Act 1947, which gave extensive power of control to the Minister, took planning powers from district councils, leaving them to counties and county boroughs only, and provided for the compulsory amalgamation of areas.
8. Gas Act 1948, which nationalized municipal gas services.
9. Local Government Act 1948, by which valuation for rating purposes was taken from local authorities and vested in the Inland Revenue.
10. National Assistance Act, 1948, which transferred care of the able bodied poor to the Assistance Board.

Against this formidable list it is fair to set some additional powers. Local authorities may provide civic restaurants, theatres and other forms of public entertainment. Town and Country Planning is virtually a new service, though the number of authorities with planning powers is shrinking ominously. The Children Act 1948 gives a new and humane emphasis to functions already exercised by local authorities, though central control is greatly increased. Taking all in all there can be no doubt upon which side the balance lies.

The trends implied by this legislation can be briefly summarized. In the first place there is the direct transfer of functions from local authorities to the State or nationally controlled bodies, and in some instances the creation of non-elective bodies to carry out the work

transferred. The former municipal hospital, for example, is managed by a committee consisting of the nominees of the nominees of the Minister of Health. Secondly there is the transfer of functions from the smaller local authority to the larger, even though the " smaller " authority may be a non-county borough with a population of 80,000. Thirdly there is the close supervision of ministries over the work of local authorities ; instead of giving them a task to do and leaving it to them to do it, subject to the power of inspection and perhaps the withholding of grant in the absence of efficient performance, there is the common requirement that the authority shall submit a scheme for approval. All too often the local authority is reduced from the status of partner to the status of agent, control and direction being vested in the Minister. The Boundary Commission commented in their *Report* for 1948 that if central control were carried much further it would cut at the root of local government. (Is it due to recent criticism of the language of the Education Act in this sense that the Minister's report *Education in* 1948 refers (p. 1) to the local education authorities and teachers " working in friendly but independent partnership with the Ministry " ?) Fourthly, there is the increasing dependence on State grants, which is incompatible with the continued functioning of a local authority with any degree of independence.

All these tendencies have become marked during the last few years, but they can be traced earlier, and we have become so much accustomed to recent developments that it is not easy to discern the principles which have become obscured. The significance of the changes can perhaps be best brought out by a passage from a letter written 47 years ago by Sir Courtenay Ilbert to Dr. Redlich (printed in the preface to Redlich and Hirst, *Local Government in England*, 1903, i, p. xi) :

> It is natural to look at foreign institutions through home spectacles, and it would be natural for a writer familiar with the centralized institutions of the Continent to regard English authorities as organs and agents of the central authority.
>
> But nothing could be further from the truth. English local councils, whether county councils, borough councils, or district councils, are public bodies discharging public functions and exercising their powers on lines and within limits defined by Parliament. But they are independent bodies, not agents, and, as every English minister knows, they decline to take orders from the central executive, except in the limited class of cases in which the Legislature has conferred on that executive powers of interference.

It is still clear, as Lord Justice Scott lately said in his Roscoe Lecture, that a local authority in England and Wales, when exercising powers of local government conferred on it by law, does so in its own right, and not as agent of the central government. Its decisions are its own, and its servants are its own and not civil servants of the State. But the class of cases in which the executive is given powers of interference has grown so rapidly that the exceptions are in danger of becoming the

rule. At the International Local Government Conference arranged by the Foreign Office and held last August at Hahnenklee in the British Zone of Germany a British lecturer was explaining to members and officers of German local authorities the relationship between central and local government in England. The Germans, whose newspapers keep them informed of events in this country, had many questions to ask about the spread of the " centralized institutions of the Continent " to England. They do not fail to note that this tendency has been developed by a Government which has joined its Allies in imposing federalism and decentralization in Germany as a precaution against a recrudescence of dictatorship. It is the crowning irony that German bureaucrats (even if their tongues are in their cheeks) should be warning us of the perils of totalitarianism.

The need for strengthening the local government structure and adapting it to new conditions was recognized by the Coalition Government in its White Paper *Local Government in England and Wales during the Period of Reconstruction* (January 1945), but it evaded the large questions involved in a general recasting of the system. To improve the structure without making great changes it proposed the setting up of a Local Government Boundary Commission. The setting up was completed by the present Government.

There can be little doubt that the promoters of the Commission had in mind that the Commission would make a series of *ad hoc* decisions for amalgamation of authorities and variation of boundaries without raising constitutional questions which would bring a hornets' nest about the ears of the Government. Unfortunately for the Government's peace of mind the Commission came to the conclusion that their powers and instructions did not permit the formation of local government units as effective and convenient as in their opinion they should be. Instead therefore of making a series of orders to achieve the second best, they set out their proposals for reform of the structure. The hornets' nest was roused. The county boroughs in particular were outraged, and opposition grew in the very quarters which made the Government's position most difficult politically. Faced with an awkward choice between the major reforms and a " second best " which would have brought a series of troubles of its own, Mr. Bevan did nothing, and continued to do nothing until Sir Malcolm Trustram Eve's letter to him (November 24, 1948) asking the Government's intentions, produced, four months later, the classic of discourtesy which the Commission exposed in their report for 1948.

The proposals of the Commission are summarized by Mr. Jessup, in his excellent little book.* There were suggested three main types of local government units—counties, county boroughs and county

**Problems of Local Government in England and Wales*, by Frank Jessup. Current Problems, Cambridge University Press. 3s. 6d.

districts (this last category including non-county boroughs, urban and rural districts). The two-tier system was to be generally adopted, save in large boroughs of over 200,000 people, which should be one-tier authorities. The county boroughs with populations of less than this were to become ' most-purpose ' authorities, being part of the county administration for police and fire services, town planning in broad outline, and a few other matters, but in all other respects retaining their autonomy.

Controversy centred upon the change in status of the smaller county boroughs. The retention of the old name for the new class did nothing to pacify the authorities affected. When the proposals are considered it is not easy to see how such a considerable constitutional change can be justified by the meagre results that would follow. The purpose of the proposed change is " to enable the legitimate demands for county borough extensions to be met without crippling the county and at the same time secure an allocation of functions in accordance with modern requirements." What the result of " modern requirements " is must be a matter of opinion ; the main purpose is to protect county finance on the occasion of a county borough extension. Yet the functions retained by the county on the extension of a ' new ' county borough (that is, the most-purpose authority) are not the expensive ones, and the revenue retained would be small ; similarly those transferred from the ' new ' county boroughs to the counties would not go far in the redistribution of costs by which it is intended to strengthen county finance ; and furthermore, the plan implies that a county district reaching a population of 60,000 would be entitled to become a ' new ' county borough with consequent weakening of county finance. The emphasis on population as the criterion of status involves the assumption that population is a measure of financial resource, which is not necessarily correct ; on the contrary, population is sometimes a cause of expenditure. Apart from all discussion of the merits of the Commission's proposals, it is doubtful whether any government would adopt them in their present form and face the resistance involved. The changes suggested might, however, have been more palatable if they had been part of a wider scheme ; and as the Boundary Commission's proposals went beyond their limited powers it is almost a pity that the Commission did not survey the whole field of local government problems.

Other schemes of reform had been put forward earlier. The Labour Party had advocated a two-tier system, with regional and area councils, both directly elected ; but Mr. Jessup places his finger on the weak spot when he points out that an area council with a population of 250,000, as is suggested, would be too large to keep in touch with local opinion. The National Association of

Local Government Officers put forward a scheme which avoids the difficulties inherent in a two-tier system—the division of powers, with consequent friction—by providing for smaller units which would be all-purpose authorities, and larger units for planning only, the latter indirectly elected by the all-purpose authorities. These latter bodies would have a population of from 100,000 to 250,000. Here again the unit is too large. Moreover, uniformity does not fit the geographical facts, and the redivision of the country upon arbitrary lines would have the oddest results. Politically speaking there is not the slightest prospect of any of these schemes being adopted. They begin with theory instead of with the facts of history and geography. They are academic exercises only: non-starters in any eventual race to the Statute Book.

Professor Cole makes a different proposal. He agrees with Mr. Jessup that local authorities should be small so that they should be local ; but he stipulates for large regions for planning purposes. He would probably agree, however, that these large regions would not serve any practical purpose unless there were a wide devolution of powers from Whitehall. To take one example only : it is proposed that the counties of Derby, Nottingham and Lincoln should form a region. One cannot imagine any excitement at an election of members to a regional council to " plan regionally " for the three counties. These counties, with others, meet in the council of Nottingham University ; and with others they are served by a regional hospital board at Sheffield. Experience does not suggest that they have anything else in common which could be put upon an agenda paper.

It is refreshing to turn from these exercises to Mr. Jessup's conclusion that it would be more profitable " to approach the problem by considering the actual needs of actual areas, and not by postulating the ubiquitous suitability of certain preconceived types of local authority." In advocating the pragmatic approach he mentions two points to be borne in mind. As Burke said, " mere locality does not constitute a body politic " and though it is not easy to say what does, there is no denying that the village, the town and the ancient county mean something to their inhabitants ; they gather affection and loyalty from their own folk which is not to be appropriated by a new and arbitrary unit like a French *département*. Only a completely mechanistic outlook could ignore the facts of history. Secondly, local government units should be the smallest compatible with the efficient performance of the job to be done ; the present tendency towards the big authority sometimes smacks of worship of size for its own sake, though it may be added that there are indications, notably in the educational world, of a reaction in favour of the small authorities. Mr. Jessup acknowledges that the empirical approach

would not lead to a tidy piece of administrative machinery, but " systems of government are human devices, and to problems of government organic, not mechanistic, solutions must be sought."

So much for the approach to the subject of structure : there is also the question of functions and, as Mr. Bevan told a House of Commons Standing Committee on December 16, 1947, " everyone who knows about local government feels that it is nonsense to talk about functions and boundaries separately." (Herein he had made progress, for he told the Association of Municipal Corporations at Eastbourne that " you must know what your functions are before you know what the organs are.") There should be a close examination, not only of all the services taken from local authorities with a view to seeing whether any of them should be restored, but also of functions performed by various Ministries which might be better discharged by local authorities. It is not even enough to take structure and functions together. It is just as necessary to take with them the subjects of relationship of local with central government, and of finance. It is essential that local authorities should have revenue adequate to the proper discharge of their duties, derived, not from grants which make them dependent on the central government, but from sources they may regard as their own. As the principles of local government finance are more easily altered than schemes affecting structure and functions, financial considerations need not be taken so fully into account in the first stages of local government reform. If the questions of structure, functions and relations with the central government can be satisfactorily settled, then it ought not to be so difficult to make provision for adequate and independent revenue for each local authority.

If conclusions on these matters are to be soundly based they must be related to the principles of political science, and the place of independent local government in a modern democratic state must be rethought, as Mr. C. H. Wilson has tried to rethink it in the *Essays on Local Government* (1948) edited by him.

Even if these inquiries were to be undertaken at once, without waiting for the Government's review to " fructify ", there would be delay in reaching conclusions. Meanwhile it is of the first importance that there should be a standstill in measures either for removing powers from local authorities altogether or for transferring them from smaller to larger authorities. Is it too much to hope that a Royal Commission or other authoritative body may be set up and charged with an examination of problems so vital to the political health of the community ?

(Alderman Hill is a former Mayor of Lincoln and has acted as an Assistant Commissioner of the Local Government Boundary Commission.)

WORLD ORGANIZATION FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

By Lady Allen of Hurtwood

THE democratic principle of mutual respect is a necessary condition for peace between nations and lasting peace will ultimately depend on man's ability to live harmoniously within his country and with other nations of the world. The education of young children in their homes, in nursery schools and in other places where groups of children are brought together for care and education, is fundamental to the art of peaceful co-operation.

Not only the teachers who already have their own international forum, with their unions and federations, are concerned with the educational problems and possibilities of early childhood education, but also doctors, psychologists, architects, parents, administrators and those who work in nursery schools, day nurseries and children's homes. The realization of the need for immediate international action to make this phase of education widespread, dynamic and fully understood, resulted in a conference being called during 1948 in Prague, at which the World Organization for Early Childhood Education was founded. (The French name, *L'Organisation Mondial pour l'Education Préscolaire*, is known as OMEP.)

In August 1949, a second conference, held at Unesco House in Paris, was attended by 135 delegates and government observers who represented 33 countries from all parts of the world. Though the constitution lays it down that no person or organization shall be excluded from membership of OMEP by reason of race, creed, nationality or political opinion, the conference was remarkable in that the representatives of catholic educational bodies and communist educators not only accepted this Article without criticism, but worked harmoniously together in commissions and plenary sessions.

National committees—and it was realized at the start that OMEP could not hope to succeed without the lively support of these—have already been formed in Great Britain, France, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Sweden, India, Greece and Czechoslovakia, and many more will undoubtedly be formed as a result of the conference. Each country is free to form its own committee to suit its own needs, and to determine its own constitution. Most of the committees have the country's Minister of Education as

honorary president.

These national committees have already broken down barriers of prejudice and tradition. Groups, separated by different religious beliefs, have come together in the interest of the child ; political differences have been forgotten ; federated cantons and States have joined hands and professional groups have dropped their jealousies. Here in these committees is a powerful instrument for the exchange of knowledge and experience within each country and between countries, and their work will be strengthened by the publication of a journal or bulletin. The bi-annual world assemblies will give a further opportunity for delegates to meet and discuss their problems.

Nobody has yet worked out the precise relation of national committees to international organizations, not even UNESCO itself, but the constitution accepted by the conference in Paris goes further than most international organizations in clarifying this difficult problem. Each committee was asked to prepare for this conference a short survey of pre-school education in their country, to form the nucleus of an international survey covering all countries. Each was also invited to select ten books believed to be the most valued by teachers and students, and these lists, with a short description of each book, will form the basis of an international bibliography. Each year OMEP celebrates its own international day, when tribute is paid to some great educationalist of the past. During 1949 the great Czech, Comenius, was honoured in many countries and the conference decided to celebrate the life of Rousseau during 1950.

The practical tasks of the conference were to reconsider the constitution, to plan the work and finance for 1950, to outline the shape of the first world assembly, which will be held in Vienna in August next year, and to elect officers and council. I was honoured to be re-elected president ; Mme. Herbinière-Lebert, *Inspectrice générale des Ecoles Maternelles* in France and chairman of the French National Committee, and Dr. Beeby, retiring Assistant Director-General for Education of UNESCO, were elected vice-presidents. The council, as far as possible, was chosen on a functional and geographical basis, and representatives from Czechoslovakia, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Iran, Belgium, Great Britain, Denmark, Germany, South Africa, Italy, France, Austria, Mexico and Australia were elected. The Headquarters are at 5 Rue LasCases, Paris, and Mme. Claire Saunier was re-appointed secretary-general.

The widespread goodwill towards this effort is encouraging, but financial resources are severely limited. OMEP, an independent and voluntary organization, has now entered into relationship with UNESCO, whose initial grant of 5,000 dollars enabled the Paris conference to be held. Each country with a national committee is now pledged to raise money for Headquarters, for without adequate

funds OMEP cannot act and without action it cannot convince people of its value. Headquarters will confine itself to the fundamental task of acting as a clearing-house of information between members, to provide means by which each can learn from the others the results of practical experience and experiment, and to ensure that current experiments and research are known to all, so as to avoid duplication.

An international organization such as this, with strong groups in many countries, can do much to strengthen the work of the specialized agencies of the United Nations. OMEP is already in a position to offer informed and particular advice to UNESCO on matters affecting early childhood education. This may well be useful, for example, when educational missions are being formed. Dr. Mantus said the World Health Organization which he represented, gave high priority to maternity and child welfare and he hoped OMEP would support this programme enthusiastically.

When welcoming the conference to Paris, Mme. Herbinière-Lebert recalled the great meeting held 18 years ago in the Sorbonne when 3,410 delegates, representing 25 countries, took part in the first International Child Congress, organized by the French Nursery School Teachers Association. Threats of war kept their plans in suspense and she therefore welcomed the formation of OMEP. Seeing that the years of childhood between two and six begin collective life, when all impressions received and all emotions felt are unforgettable, she felt that the times are privileged for those who, in considering the future, seek for all children a universal patrimony of background recollections to bind them together as members of the same human community, in spite of the difference of race, habits and manners.

Dr. George Stoddard, Principal of the University of Illinois, U.S.A., and a member of the executive board of UNESCO, in his address on "The Reality of our Work" outlined certain ideological " blockings " in the development of nursery school education, such as : " I got along without nursery schools ; why can't the children of today ? " and : " The worst home is better for the child than the best school." He showed that the nursery school, like other schools, makes no attempt to replace parents or to be a substitute for home life—on the contrary a good school is a supplement to parents and works closely with them on every occasion. What happens more often than not is that a child who is at home all the time is neglected part of the time. The nursery school, in combination with parent education, is a means of strengthening home life, opening to all concerned unexpected vistas of life enrichment. Another argument often advanced was : " Aren't mothers better off if they stay at home and take care of their children ? " Dr. Stoddard pointed out that

mothers do not necessarily stay at home. It can be said, in these modern days, that woman's place is not only in the home, but in the store, the bank, the school, the community meetings, the park committee, the concert and the theatre. Home is her headquarters and her centre ; she will return to it enlightened and refreshed only if she is free to undertake other activities. There is no joy in a sense of captivity.

In a message to the conference Professor Wallon said :

> It is not enough for the young child to be well fed and kept clean in order to be in good health. He needs the attention and solicitude of his mother, to quiet his worries and to keep him in a state of secure wellbeing. As he grows older, between the ages of three and six, which are known as the pre-school years, he acquires a great amount of experience which gives him a growing sense of independence. This period of active personality development may be for the child a source of emotional conflicts and the educator should pay special attention to this, or he will not recognize the wrong roads into which the sensitivity of the child may become engaged.

The main tasks of OMEP are to help provide a good and satisfying environment for the growing child, to assist parents to understand the needs of their children, and to bring home to governments the rightful claims of the youngest children. The huge task now facing every country in the world is to save children from becoming neglected, unhappy and delinquent. Personalities once warped seldom straighten out again. The field of action touches each individual child throughout the world. To feel secure in his place within a family group has been proved to be the child's best protection. The loss of that security is dangerous, whether it comes from physical separation due to war, from long hours spent by mothers in factories, from anxiety within the home, or from a childhood spent in dreary institutions, where individual affection may be thought unimportant. To create a family, to keep it warm, to uphold it in spite of every obstacle, is a work of art more difficult than any other. The contribution of OMEP to the happiness of children is to strengthen the foundations and the framework of the family unit.

It is often said that nursery schools cost too much. The real question is, can we afford not to undertake this great development of human resources during early childhood, which is the most profitable economic investment we know? Is the education of children to be the first or the last claim on our money ? The conference had the opportunity of hearing brief reports on pre-school education from delegates of many countries. All stressed the need for more teachers, more buildings and equipment and the need for a greater realization from those who shape our destiny of the importance of these formative years.

Dr. Casto-Leal, the delegate from Mexico, said that in his country

the aim for pre-school education was the complete development of the child, and for this one had to see that the child moves in surroundings of work, cleanliness, beauty, discipline and joy. He told how teachers had joined together in groups called "*brigades de joie*" to visit the poorest districts, parks and gardens, to entertain the children by their marionette shows, songs and games, and how the fathers of families enthusiastically co-operated as labourers in the construction of new schools. Between 1942 and the present time Mexico had doubled the number of nursery schools. In Israel, said Mme. Ben Sira, difficult problems had to be faced because of the diversity of language spoken by a population of emigrants from all over the world. The very first step was to teach the children the national language, Hebrew, and as this could not be done in the family it was of the greatest importance to create a large number of pre-schools.

Dr. Buschmann, from Germany, said that nearly all the nursery schools were established by the Churches and that there was no law governing the diploma of the teachers.

In Belgium, as in so many other countries, more and more mothers were being called upon to work away from home, with the result that the new nurseries tended to emphasize the material needs and to neglect the educational aspect, and that many of the schools were not properly organized to receive the children. Mlle. Claret contended that the salaries of the teachers in pre-schools were too small and their social standing too low.

Mr. Alister MacDonald, an architect from Great Britain, described the work that had been done by the architects committee of the Nursery School Association, in producing a plan, and in fact erecting a prototype, of a nursery school that had more than halved the estimated cost of building without in any way reducing the necessary standards laid down by the Ministry of Education. In fact he claimed that the successfully evolved "shelter type" was more suited to the size and requirements of young children than the elaborate and costly buildings that had previously been thought desirable.

The Chief Child Welfare Inspector of Norway, Miss Ella Esp, urged the conference to seek to establish a special department in at least one European university for post-graduate training for those who would have the great responsibility of training teachers.

We are in great danger of losing from the world the loveliest of all virtues—tolerance. In the world of education, and especially in the education of the very young, tolerance towards each other and a deep respect for the individuality of each child should be our aim. In the sphere of early childhood education, precise knowledge still counts for very little ; passion and prejudice still determine the fate of the children, on whom the future life of the world will be founded.

OMEP hopes to promote the dispassionate—but not the remote—study of early childhood education, and to ensure the free interchange of ideas. Here is an open forum for free discussion, to which all schools of thought are welcomed and at which none is denied a hearing. We do not seek or wish to indoctrinate anyone with a particular educational theory, or to advance any one educational method. Our purpose is to help all those who work with children to think clearly and wisely. To do that we must provide a platform for all schools of thought and for all professions and organizations interested in early childhood education. We must welcome their co-operation on our council and encourage them to sit with us on our national committees. We shall not succeed in our great task if we start with minds that are closed, or with the belief that we have already discovered the truth. We must make available to all the learning and the experience that is to be found in the minds and books of all good educators. Through this diversity of expression, tolerantly received, we shall hope to achieve unity.

THE LONG CONTRACT

By Mary Bishop

I

THINK you the rolling earth computes these years
Or Mars or Vega recognize
Our agonies,
Our black wounds and our bloody tears ?

Light years beyond the silent Russian snow,
Beyond Orion's starry belt,
The long years melt,
The ever and the never flow.

Deep, deep within the veils of stardust lie

Future and past, together spun,
Forever one,
Holding the world where mortals die.

II

So long, so deep, the slow convulsive strain
Of ocean bed and continent
Nurtured intent,
Discarded loss and hoarded gain.

So long, so strange, while worlds were born and died,
So long while atoms burst on suns,
The story runs,
Cell upon cell was multiplied.

Out of eternal darkness, out of night,
Out of the rock, above the slime,
Life challenged Time,
Forged heart, wove memory, kindled sight.

III

The midnight of the frightened, seeking mind
Is split and riven with mad gleams
And nightmare dreams
Haunt its forgotten rooms, confined.

Born of distorted visions, bred in strife,
Fast-manacled in ghostly chains,
Old hates, old pains,
Death's maggots, eat the heart of life.

IV

O mind that seeks above the pain and hate,
O heart that beats in phantomed dark,
Set here thy mark
On this long contract made with fate.

The movement in the sub-atomic deep,
The flow beyond dimensions' bars
Swings the far stars
And sets the hour that mortals keep.

WILL WITCHCRAFT REVIVE ?

By Pennethorne Hughes

NATURE abhors a spiritual vacuum, and materialism is never entirely satisfactory to even an ignorant majority of mankind. Which gives grounds for the prediction of Dr. W. R. Inge, in his article in the May 1949 number of The Fortnightly that " a revival of witchcraft is clearly overdue." This statement is worth examining, if only because the word " witchcraft " means so many different things to so many people : orthodox religionists, stockbrokers, or whimsy novelists.

It is only very recently that anthropologists have clearly related the evidences of the witch cult of the middle ages in Europe to the practices still common in equatorial Africa and other parts of the unstandardized world. The totem-god is common to them all, the practices are often similar, the number thirteen, so frequently quoted in the European witch trials, is still a unit in parts of West Africa, and so on. This is all obvious enough. Yet little has as yet been done to explain it in any detail, and so far as I know the connection has never been drawn for instance between the megaphone masks of the West African witch-doctor and the otherwise puzzling entries in the Scottish and English trials about the devils who spoke " low but big." It is as well to realize that witchcraft, as an active ingredient of daily life, still does exist in many parts of the world, recognizably related to the ' witchcraft ' which has largely disappeared in western Europe. For generations at least Africa, and much of Asia, will accept devils, and show good psychological, and indeed physiological, evidence for them. And while men fear devils, some will worship them.

But it was clearly western Europe, or at least Christendom, which Dr. Inge had in mind, and here a significant revival of the cult would certainly be remarkable. For the witch system that the Inquisition fought, that Catholics and the Reformed Churches alike beat to its knees, and that the rise of medicine gave the *coup-de-grâce*, is dead as mutton : or, in this connection, goat. It represented all sorts of forces, and it is impossible to set them all out at length. It was, rightly, greeted as heresy. " To the stake with heretics and witches (and, of course, Jews !) " probably brought the organized witches many unlikely supporters, just as : " To the block with Catholics, Communists (and, of course, Jews !) " has more recently sometimes

improbably united ideological oil and water, under contemporary pressures. Witchcraft was the Adullam cave of frustrated paganism, frustrated feminism, and the frustrated dualism of medieval Europe. It was the resort of the social and spiritual irreconcilables, and of the cultural hang-overs. It was constantly reinforced, intellectually, from the East.

In attempting to resolve an immensely complicated field of evidence and prejudice, it may be said that witchcraft was two main things. They branched from a common group system of magical practice, dating from the remotest beginning of human development, and finally losing dominance with the development of the sense of personal individuality which the Hebrew mythology symbolized as the eating of the fruit of the knowledge of good and evil. This group system was connected with the great fertility festivals of pre-agricultural peoples. It involved a knowledge of physical manipulation and psychological adjustment dating from generations of even palaeolithic experience. It used the properties of herbs, the sacerdotal " trickery " of the adept, and the transmitted powers of auto- and hetero-suggestion. It largely worked, in its early days, as a religion. It failed increasingly to do so, as the secret, bottled perhaps in Egypt, became diffused and disintegrated before later systems of thought and religious experience.

The first thing that witchcraft represented was the popular vestiges of this earliest religious cult, as they outcropped in the middle ages. They are reported to us by the servants of authoritarian Christianity, who saw them with real terror when, the attack on Christendom by the pagan from without being repelled, the Church came to consolidate Europe from within. The pagan peasants danced round trees, observed the pre-Christian festivals of their remote forbears, and indulged in periodic ecstasies which the undying Church rightly saw as the degenerate parallel of the esoteric doctrines of the Manichaens or the Bulgari.

All Churches make devils of the gods of their predecessors, and laws were passed from the earliest Christian times against those who still followed the old ways. But it was not until the fourteenth century that the existence of a definite sect of witches was finally accepted as an imminent danger, in spite of earlier forebodings. By then the Inquisition, confirmed in its carefully adjusted machinery for the extermination of heresy generally, had turned to look more closely at what had previously been held to be mere individual error or, in some localities, a regrettable tendency to revert to periodic paganism. The districts on the perimeter of the Catholic State, or those which for various topographical or economic reasons remained as only partially converted pockets within it, could be co-ordinated. Minority anachronisms must be ironed out.

Investigation showed, however, what had already been constantly claimed by horrified parish priests, particularly in the north, that in some districts the old religion was hardly a minority one at all. The early palaeolithic cult worship, much of it associated with the rites of the Horned God, still had many adherents, particularly in the country districts. It is almost impossible to-day to realize the inaccessibility of many regions of Europe in the period after the break-down of the Roman system. In England, for instance, the Fens still isolated the eastern counties, which in any case felt for centuries the results of their devastation after the defeat of Boadicea. The weald still separated southern England from the Gallic sophistication of Kent, where that culture was itself confined for some time to the dominant Norman minority. Yorkshire was a waste bared by William of Normandy. Wales and Cornwall spoke a Celtic language, and used a Celtic culture for centuries resistant to Norman-British procedure : independent Scotland, given up to high-born brigandage and a low regimen, looked to the north. All dialects were probably incomprehensible outside a very narrow circle, and the scattered hamlets, most of them self-contained units miles apart from each other, lay off the ridgeways which the Romans had adapted into military highways, and were surrounded by swamp, forest, and devils. It was not surprising that the beliefs their inhabitants had inherited from their ancestors should persist, only superficially affected by the culture of their overlord and the inexplicable religious doctrines of his compatriots. The obvious comparison is those communities of to-day, for instance in the West Indies, in which missionary and colonial influence extends from the capitals to the towns and large villages, whilst the interior remains true to Voodoo and the goats.

There is no contemporary comparison in Europe, and similar conditions can only be imagined if the Christian west were absorbed by a pagan authoritarianism, with State-worship less tolerant than that of the Roman, but inefficient in its transport arrangements. Then perhaps pockets of Christian resistance might remain resolute against the new order, to create the new witchcraft, the ultimate heresy.

In their battle with the old pagan system the Christian Churches, Roman and Reformed, won. They did so with all the paraphernalia of mass execution, public trials, and the presumption of guilt, which make such horrible reading in the accounts of the trials, and were regarded by our fathers as the supreme blot on the middle ages, and on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We have ourselves seen them again, and Sprengler's instructions in the *Malleus Malleficorum*, on the conduct of witch trials, might be those of a Gestapo chief. The difference lies only in that Sprengler perhaps, and his peers often, were some of the most just and wise men of their time. Whether

that mitigates the horror can only be a matter of opinion.

At all events the Christian majority—and very soon of course it was a majority—heartily applauded the trials, and even after their heyday, and when any organized witch movement was well scotched, enthusiastically lynched the unpopular individual practitioners of the simpler rites, and anyone else they disliked by the same token. Not only persecution was at work, for the old pockets of country were being brought into the ordinary life of the community, " the sheep eat up the fairies," and new medical discoveries joined with new philosophical beliefs to scoff at the old mysteries, in the dubious cause of the new verities.

So the peasant practice of the earliest emotional rites and rituals, passed from mother to daughter, petered out, through reasons economic, religious, and sociological. The cult disintegrated ; the faith lapsed ; the communal cauldron ceased to boil, and the witches and fairies (often their other name) degenerated into the dismal crones of caricature. By the eighteenth century the ordinary man of sense repudiated the opinion of the best of his grandfathers—Sir Matthew Hale, or Dr. Thomas Browne—and saw no witches : just foolish old women. The palaeolithic pharmacopoeia remained only as old wives' simples. What had been a religion had diminished into legend and folklore, in most of Europe. And so it remained, and remains ; local superstition, and a few old women, or less often men, sometimes slightly odd, sometimes of hereditary malevolence or beneficence, doing a little faith healing in Dorset, Wales, or elsewhere, to the great excitement of those of the local population religiously unemployed at the time. And also, it is to be feared, of the superstitiously religious.

This folklore is fascinating to many of us, and it represents a backcloth to our social structure. But, although in every generation we invent our own superstitions, it is not witchcraft. Or rather, it is a degenerate and devitalized witchcraft which only causes spine-tingles in the creations of novelists. It is thirteen, ladders, toads and wishing on the eye of the White Horse—happy nursery thrills, from which many of us are lucky enough not to escape. But it is not the devil's livery.

The second thing that witchcraft represented, and perhaps still represents, is less attractive. It is the cerebral and esoteric extension of the primitive ritual, the Egyptian formula bloodied with the Mediterranean cults, handed on by intellectual rebels and perverts. The Kabbala, the doctrines of the various secret cults and societies which (mainly innocently) play their dangerous charades to-day, and the writing of many mystics, preserve this other stream of the primitive religion which first opposed and subsequently underlay the Catholic structure of the West. Although dating from an earlier tradition, it

nevertheless sought to parody Christianity, and so we get the stories of the Black Mass, the Lord's Prayer backwards, the inverted candlesticks, and the sometimes childish and sometimes ingenious parodies of Christianity which do outcrop from time to time. " The Devil is God's Ape " : and where you have active and intense belief in a godhead, so you will find diabolism as an almost necessary opposite.

The converse also is surely true, that diabolism and witchcraft, being the religion and practice of dis-belief, and opposition, cannot flourish except where there is already a strong religious orthodoxy. It was the rise of a more informed medical fraternity, and a more rationally minded society, in the eighteenth century, which finally did away with the persecution of those taken (or by this time usually mistaken) for witches. With the discomfiture of faith so diabolism receded. When science was held to have discredited orthodox religion, then witchcraft, religion's weaker corollary, also diminished, teetering on into Christmas stories on one hand, and the parlour antics of the soul-sick on the other.

Now, Dr. Inge suggests, science is in turn discredited, and materialism shaken, and he seems sympathetic to the idea that oases of culture should be created to preserve humanism and letters in the barbarian and intellectual anarchy the situation implies. Outside these there would be chaos.

It is of course a possibility. Another possibility is that there should be some kind of major religious revival, although it is difficult to believe that if the enthusiasms of authoritarian devotees could be so dramatically switched, it would be to any very high form of religion. But, since witchcraft can never return as a religion itself, it is only by the revival of some other religion that it can become again a recognizable movement.

Meanwhile of course the cranks and the crooks remain with us ; the ghost pedlars, the esoteric transcendentalists, the Sunday astrologers and the mumbo-jumboists. They usually do have a field-day after any major war. Only their titles change, as their stage properties vary from shiny clinics to tea-leaves in a tent on the village fête day. There will always, too, be the perverted and deranged, searching for evil for its own sake. But witchcraft as a craft and a cult is not likely to re-emerge from the works of the anthropologists and the seasonal illustrations in the funny papers.

NOVEMBER

By J. T. Brockway

AND now November, dripping from the eaves,
Drumming premonitions round the house,
Busy in gutters tapping out despair.
Walking the wood and stamping out the fires
Decamping Autumn lit among the leaves.
A ghost with gloomy omens on his lips,
Lying in dusky ambush down the streets,
The long white lanes of Sunday afternoon,
When the strutting world sits huddled round the grate,
Shutting its doors to keep the Stranger out.

Now, in firelit rooms, young women peer
In tell-tale mirrors, tug the first grey hair ;
Stand with chilly fingers on the pane
And gaze there long and long ; now old men stare
At dying faces in a dying fire,
Prepare to patch a peace with life, to turn
And greet the shade that grins behind the chair.

But even November, with imperial gusts,
Can rip the time-worn trappings of defeat
From tree and steeple, earth and air ; reveal
Gold obelisk and pyramid of fire
Ablaze within the orchard ; paint the sky
With watercolour arabesques as bright
As any sprung from Spring's quixotic brush,
Gilding façade, high window-pane and spire
With that remote, inviolable smile
We met in childhood on our first dead face.

Even November has the squirrel's tail,
The flash and cry of magpies in the wood,
Loud-gathered rooks, washed skies, adagio waltz
Of poplar tops along the churchyard wall :
. . . And long white lines of graves that lift the eye
Over the year's dun battlefields to where
A far horizon dares the heart : explore.

FLOWER-HUNTS IN IRELAND

By Winifred Letts

MY first conscious memory of flowers goes like this—I am in a meadow, a meadow on the hillside above the Liffey where she slips by towards Chapelizod. The meadow is full of ox-eye daisies and marjoram. Of course there were other flowers, but these two seem to have caught me by beauty and scent so that marjoram always takes me back to that meadow. I must have been quite small for the daisies seemed near my face and I could look closely at the gossamer and the webs that had little tunnel entries where a spider crouched like some wily old shop-keeper.

So I go back to memory and the beginnings of what has been a growing delight, a never sated interest. This time I am walking down the Lucan road, past the banks that were once the renowned " Strawberry Beds ", where Dublin " fashionables " and lesser folk came for strawberries and jollity. No strawberries now, but I notice and pick the wild mignonette and look up at the tall spikes of fennel. I pick self-heal and hawkweeds and bring them back to press in brown paper. The only book I have is the small edition of Ann Pratt's *Wildflowers*.

The next definite push from a kind fate comes at boarding school. It is the summer term and close to examination time. I am smitten with chicken pox but feel perfectly well. The matron comes in to my isolated boredom and says : " You'll be able to take the examination here, you can have your books and work." And so I picked up the hated botany-book. We had all loathed botany and given the young mistress (who probably loathed it too) a miserable time. As it was taught in schools who would not hate it ? A wretched flower was brought in and analysed like a sentence. Those terrible botanical names were reeled out, we copied them from the blackboard and made a sort of chart about this now-detested flower. But here I was, alone and bored, so I swallowed down enough facts to bring me out top of a very poor entry. All undeserving I won a prize which was to be for years my treasure; it was John's *Flowers of the Field*, an early edition then and replaced later by the larger modern John. But I love him as I love Ann Pratt and bless their memories. The real red-letter day came later. During a visit in a country house in Wexford I was shown the diary of the Wild Flower Society, with its

column for the plant, another for the date, a third for the place of the find. The diary included every plant named in Bentham and Hooker's *British Flora*. So I realized that I must get the book and the *Illustrated Flora* too.

From now on until the present day there was an unfailing interest in life. March 1 (usually a dreary and temperamental day) is to all W.F.S. members the first day for records. There is a prize for the most flowers sent in on that date, and the number is amazingly high ; the sequel is the " Last Hunt " on October 31. When Mrs. Dent, of Flass Meaburn, started the Wild Flower Society she did not know what a crop of happiness she had sown in homes all over the British Isles. When she died last year at a noble old age, it was said of her by one of her branch secretaries : " Ever since I read the notice of Mrs. Dent's death, I have been thinking that her work must have brought more pleasure to many people than that of almost any other person."

As much of Ireland is bog-land I have many memories of hopping—almost wading over bogs. Near my own former home-farm in south Kildare there is a great stretch of bog, brown, golden, purple, according to the season ; the horizon is bordered by the Wicklow mountains to the west ; southwards the bog runs by the main Cork road. The treasures of the bog are small and need a watchful eye. Among the bright green and bronze red of sphagnum moss and the great carpet of heather you must be alert to find the three types of sun-dew, and still more aware to chance on that lovely little bog plant, andromeda. The obvious lovely things, the windblown white heads of cotton grass, bell heather, ling and golden spikes of bog asphodel were everywhere, like the scented sweetgale that glows red like cornelian in the sunlight. Some of the peaty pools were starred with common bladderwort, a grey-yellow flower, and the surrounding banks were silvered with cushions of that smallest cudweed—the ' mountain everlasting '. The dykes were full of loosestrife, water valerian, meadow sweet, water-avens, but it was not every day that one came on that lovely orchis the marsh helleborine ; still it is not rare and often grows profusely as I saw it on a golden afternoon by the road from Mountmellick to Athy.

Bee-orchis is a spasmodic flower—it suddenly appears, two or three spikes in a field where one had never seen it, as it did in our farm and in our next neighbour's field. It favours seaside banks on the Wexford coast and grows freely on a disused railway line outside Athy. Here I took it for granted, for I was really searching for fly orchis which I knew from *Cybele Hibernica* had been found in this district in about 1856 and not recorded since. The research was successful when Keith Lamb, an ardent botanist and gardener found it near Burtown. The rector of Athy gave me the news and promised

to mark it with flags of gorse bush. I borrowed a bicycle that rattled in every joint and covered the six miles between our farm and Burtown. At last in a very boggy field I saw gorse flaming in unlikely spots and knew it was a guide. There was the lovely little orchis so like a fly ; the day seemed crowned, for rarity is the lore of the collecting spirit or I should have dwelt more on the butterfly orchis with its scent and the common pretty pyramid orchis.

There is a great stretch of bogland in County Louth wandering away from the little town of Ardee. It was good hunting ground and rewarding, even though two members of W.F.S. sought vainly over miles for cowbane (*cicuta virosa*). What of it when one has walked over acres of heather and rested by little pools covered with frog-bit and seen the handsome greater spearwort and noted two or three pondweeds, though not as many as have been found on this bog ?

Of heathers the Irish queen is S. Dabeoc's heath and it was the final glory of the most beautiful motor drive I have ever taken in western Ireland. We had started in Achill and driven by Westport to Louisberg and then, under the splendour of Muilrea, turned for Doolough Pass and run through that glorious loneliness to Leenane and so at last, in a glowing evening, from Clifden to Maamcross, with the Twelve Bens turning to the purple of violets as the evening fell. We stopped by the roadside for a picnic supper and there in a level ray of the sunset gleamed the great pink bells of S. Dabeoc's heath. Thus, not infrequently, are picnics blessed, for another W.F.S. member, motoring in Tipperary, sat down almost upon the blue-eyed grass (*sisyrinchium angustifolium*) while she had lunch and so made a county record. Those are two of the Irish treasures; a third, of ill-fame with fishermen, is the Irish spurge (*euphorbia hiberna*) but it is a lovely thing as I remember it in the woods of Blarney, vivid green for every fishing poacher to see. A quieter member of the Irish group is the little pipe-wort that you may find in so many pools in Connemara, humbler than the water lobelia (*lobelia dortmanna*) which you will see there in the many pools.

But in southern and western Ireland you may discard the rare and glory in the common for you will see it in perfection. Shut your eyes and recall the dingy London pride of a million town gardens, then open them where every rock face and gully is tapestried in red and green ; here is, not now London pride, but S. Patrick's cabbage (*saxifraga umbrosa*).* It may grow in towns of its courtesy, a tribute to its native saint, but in its own land it riots, rejoices, decks the hillsides with its glory. Not so lavish, but so true a purple that they catch your eye at once, are the flowers of the greater butterwort (*pinguicula grandiflora*). Rising from rosettes of pale leaves the flowers shone among cushions of sphagnum by the Kerry roadsides

*" *Saxifrage umbrosa L.*, which is a hybrid geum x spathularis form, a common plant of gardens." R. Lloyd Praeger.

where first I saw it. Bring it indoors to stud bowls of sphagnum and the first thought is of a bowl of violets. With its little pink associate, lousewort, so badly named, it is perfect.

Among glimpses of paradise given to Irish travellers I would name the Burren of Clare. To flower-hunters the name will recall memories of delight and to others that hope which begins ' Someday '. The end of May or early June is the time to see the gentians. My first sight of them was on a May evening when level light caught the hill in front of us. We were travelling now by the sea and were close to Kilfenora castle where the swans toss gently under those grey ruins. But across the road nothing was grey, the hill was jewelled with blue, the rarest of nature's colours. Here, perfectly at home, was little *gentiana verna* with her blue eyes; she was rioting all over the rocks and the hills that rise up to Black Head. And with her was her daisy-faced friend—the oak leaved dryas (*dryas octopetala*). Dryas, like certain blessed people, grows old gracefully with a profusion of fluffy greyheads. There we were in paradise. We had no need to search for those two small members of a heavenly choir, nor to look long for maidenhair fern ; it grew in every gully by the roadside. And the hoary rock-rose was there for all. A rarer treasure that we found by climbing up Black Head was the little ' dense-spiked orchis' of Bentham's *Flora* (*neotinea*). And rare too, for it was now in seed was the pyramid bugle (*ajuga pyramidalis*). On hands and knees we crawled over the flat limestone rocks seeking for one bugle in flower ; this is indeed a very good attitude for pilgrims, and the more so when their treasures grow in crevices between stones, as they do in these limestone areas. The Burren consists of terraces rising up the hillsides. If in summer it is paradise it must be nearer purgatory in winter, and even by a cold moonlight I wondered that some Irish Dante had not pictured the souls of the chastened dead climbing those grey heights towards the stars. The Cromwellian soldier left the much quoted tag of " no tree to hang a man, no earth to bury him " in this strange, rather unearthly land. But I am writing of May and the bliss of a blue sea between Black Head and the Aran Islands and a blue cloud-flecked sky overhead. Up on the ' green road ' of the mountain I happed on one of those floral surprises one cannot explain—a thriving clump of erinus. Now erinus is not in Bentham's *Flora*, it is a slightly urban little plant, known to all gardeners and excellent for old walls which it loves. It has naturalized itself in Downpatrick I believe, and belongs to nearly all gardens ; but how had it arrived on Black-head in the County Clare, remote from gardens and from any old-walled town ? Did a bird bring it, or some practical joker ? The erinus said nothing.

Our headquarters were in Ballyvaughan at a pleasant small hostelry,

hallowed already by botanists of such fame as Dr. Lloyd Praeger. Our hostess was prepared for them, and their ways. " Ah ", she said kindly, of a lesser botanical light, " he's happy here with his plants and his little bits of things." She gave us the upper floor, sufficiently remote from the cheerful pub below. Her tolerance did not object to every utensil of sitting or bedroom, suitable or not, being filled with herbage. But it struck me that one heard of Dublin botanists but no one locally seemed to be interested. I knew there was the discoverer of the orchis *o'kellyi* in the district, but we did not know where to find him or any guide to the local rarities, so that it was by a chance that we strayed into a dell where the shrubby potentilla (*potentilla-fruticosa*) grew lavishly. It reserved its presence for this quiet little spot where willow warblers sang to it with songs like falling raindrops. Probably it is as well that the local children do not know themselves to be in a sort of Aladdin's cave of treasures. I have seen transplanted gentians, but they lived like invalids in Dublin gardens.

The merits of botany as a cure can transcend any pill, injection or physician's bottle that I have come upon. For witness I quote my friend J. who is one of the most ardent W.F.S. members in Ireland, with a total of ' finds ' well over 900. But her visits to the doctor were always followed by severe cautions on over-exertion—no steep hills, no long walks ; after all a grandmother must accept limitations. So J. early on her Dublin visits would say : " I think we'll go flower-hunting first and I'll see the doctor later—mind, don't tell him where we've been." This was before a visit to the top of Howth above the Bailey cliffs. Before I could reach her J. was gathering samphire after the manner of Shakespeare. " Half-way down hangs one that gathers samphire ; dreadful trade ! Methinks he seems no bigger than his head." Later I found samphire quite accessible on seaside rocks as she might have done. I brought a lot home and pickled it but could never induce anyone, even myself, to like it, but eaten raw it is rather fascinating in its pungent taste.

Another dangerous climb that J. instigated was at New Ross in Wexford where the river flows below a steep escarpment. We were to look for sawwort (*serratula tinctoria*), rare in Ireland. That cliffside on a hot day seemed to me a severe trial to any heart. To reach the sawwort and then regain the road involved a severe climb. I followed that eager botanist with *my* heart throbbing. I pictured myself leaving a corpse on the cliff and hurrying for ambulance and doctor—but not a bit of it ; achievement is the finest tonic a heart can find and later the Dublin doctor remarked to me : " Mrs. J. is decidedly better, I notice a marked improvement," and when I said : " I'd recommend botany to all your patients " he looked gently surprised. Still there are risks to be avoided. Ben Bulben, that

table-like mountain of the western coast has an intriguing flora of its own, but its cliff face is very dangerous and I have read of bad botanical accidents there. In one case I think the victim was still clinging to his rarity. Without any risk you can explore Glenade in the Leitrim-Sligo country. Glenade is near Glencar, beloved of the young William Yeats. It is a curious gulley in the mountain face. I found here the green spleenwort and holly fern, and in another Sligo glen was introduced to the filmy fern (*hymenophyllum unilaterale*). I was with a W.F.S. member who had found the Killarney fern in these parts, but the exact home was kept a secret except for the elect and it was too obscure to seek it at this time.

So far these memories have concerned happy hunting days in lovely country but there can be very profitable hours spent on rubbish tips ; and here the philosophy of the flower hunter is a happy one. He may always find something in the most untidy and forsaken spots. Londoners and other city dwellers know what marvellous rock gardens grew up after the blitz, how the tall rosebay flourished and threw a mantle over bomb holes, how the Oxford ragwort rejoiced and sang as it colonized every ruined wall and cranny, how the humbler Canadian fleabane settled in, and now with what sheets of sweet ' bedding out stuff ' the white alyssum is carpeting the area round St. Paul's.

One of the Dublin ' dumps ' frequented by botanists is the ' Kimmage dump ', a district of new housing. The cinder heaps are overgrown by rank vegetation, and among them ragged but eager children dig for possible fuel and odds and ends. It is an absorbing quest to the child mind but it ended fatally in at least one case where the tunnel fell in. Having asked a noted botanist the way to the dump he had told me : " When you leave the 'bus follow your nose, you'll soon find it." Perhaps it is different now ; a few years ago there was a trail of fish remains and chicken necks to the mounds where one *might* find the London rocket (*sisymbrium Irio*). I say ' might ' with emphasis for this unlovely member of a huge family is as rare now as it is plain. It has a taste for ashes and it came in locust-crowds to London after the Big Fire. It was once common in Dublin ; now the very elect dispute its existence on this same dump. We had one sound opinion for our find but another against it. The more a botanist knows the more slow he is to admit that " a primrose by a river brim, a yellow primrose is to him." And about London rocket the case seems uncertain ; one must reckon with ' aliens ' which account for a lot of finds. Needless to say, my friend J. was always ready for this dump and I recall mournfully an evening of pouring rain when we wandered among the garbage and dreary vegetation and I found nothing and only longed for home while J. had discovered ' gold of pleasure ' (*camellina sativa*).

I will not end on this dreary spot, though it has a vast attraction for children and botanists, but will write of another finding, again a plant once very common, according to the books and now very rare and lovely as it is rare. I mean corn-cockle (*lychnis gothago*). Vainly had I sought it in England in every English countryside that I visited. The old blue cornflower is rare enough ; we found just one in a Norfolk field, but never a sign of the cockle. From Salisbury down to south Devon I raked the fields with eager eyes ; in every visit to Kent I sought it, but at long last, " in the heel o' the hunt " I found it in County Wexford, once near Newtownbarry and again, in July of 1948, I met it tall and lovely by a field-path near Courtown Harbour.

These are but a few of those Irish days in nearly every county where joy and wild flowers went together. There was the long hunt for cottonweed (*diotis maritima*) in that curious flat country of south Wexford by Lake Tacumshin, a place that seems haunted by elusive stories and half-forgotten histories. And again in memory I am by Lough Neagh looking out towards little Ram's island until Stanford's lovely song came to haunt me as we wandered damply on the shore. It was J. who captained that expedition, and more alert eyes than mine had spotted that tiny creature the creeping pillwort as it did quite literally creep over the mud. And the same day by Lough Neagh we found the marsh pea (*lathyrus palustris*). Again it was J. who led us one glorious morning by the Lagan. I had not known what a gentle reflective river the Lagan is in its country reaches and in its lush growth of water weed. Here we got that curious attractive plant limnanthemum ; it has no shorter name. The greater duck-weed, dull but needed in my diary, was here and the marsh watercress, flowering rush, arrowhead and water plantain, kind companions to our picnic lunch.

But J. who is the model M.F.H. for a flower hunt had devised a plan to reach Carrickfergus and hunt the water soldier. I forget how it was managed in the late afternoon. I know it involved a train and then a hastily-ordered motor car, lest we should miss our last homeward train. But how well worth was the scurry when we saw that small army of water-soldiers (*stratiotes aloides*), its good English name fitting its sturdy, sharp-leaved shape. It is always on the defensive. And to show you that one may meet some treasure even in a city we were led to a garden behind a civic building in Belfast where the real deadly nightshade (*atropa belladonna*) has sown itself. For Dublin I can quote the balsam (*impatiens parviflora*) as a surprise, found in back regions of Trinity College during a ' dog-walk '.

That is one of the many joys of flower-hunting, you may or may not find what you seek, but the unsought may be under your feet for consolation.

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

THE INFLUENCE OF POE

By David Hughes

MUCH has been written and said of Poe as a deviser of literary forms, as the great exponent of *ars gratia artis*, as a critic, as a publicity man ; and much attention has been paid to the events of his life and his mind, so that it is sometimes not easy to remember that most of us enjoyed his tales and poems long before we knew anything about him as a man. In fact, many of us were reading Poe for pleasure at the same time as we toiled through Dickens and Scott as holiday tasks ; and to such readers it comes as a shock to be reminded that Poe has been dead for a hundred years.

Mr. Slater* intends, both by his introduction and by the wide selection of works which follow, that we should have an insight into Poe the man, and into the many different sides of his writing. Here are not only tales (one or more of each kind) and poems, but also critical essays, marginalia and colloquies. There are also 60 pages of *Eureka* put in, no doubt, because they were important to Poe, as well as to show his versatility, but at the expense of other works, a satire perhaps or the fable *Silence*. But it is a good collection and it makes Poe in all his aspects much more available than heretofore.

It is certain that Poe's influence on other writers has been considerable ; Mr. Slater mentions names as far apart as Dorothy Sayers, Jules Verne and Stéphane Mallarmé among his successors. But most readers are not writers, and it is perhaps worth wondering why Poe has so many more readers than have many other writers of equal or greater merit ; or if not actually more readers, why so many of his tales and poems make more impression on the memory. For example, a reader research team might well find that a larger number of people could name and recall more of Poe's writings than of the works of Maupassant or Stevenson or Hardy.

One reason for the eminent readability of Poe may be what Mr. Slater calls his oddly contemporary flavour and ascribes to the quality of *seediness*. At other times and elsewhere, this is called decadence, and it has its charm, which lies particularly in the casting-off of moral responsibility including the demands of truth. This *seediness* is sometimes expressed as " giving the public what it wants " or, as Poe put it, suiting " at once the popular and the critical taste " and this is just what he aimed to do.

Another explanation could be that " Unity of Effect " which Poe consciously worked for. There is an error, he says, in the usual mode of constructing a story by getting a thesis from history or incident, or by the author setting himself to work in the combination of striking events to form a basis. " I prefer commencing with the consideration of an *effect*. Keeping originality *always* in view . . . Having chosen a novel first, and secondly a vivid effect, I consider whether it can best be wrought by incident or tone." In other words, he is, in an almost detached way, setting out to call a response from the emotions of his readers.

This fact must be connected with Poe's definition of the poetry of words as the " Rhythmical Creation of Beauty" whose " sole arbiter is Taste. With the Intellect or the Conscience it has only collateral relations. Unless

**The Centenary Poe.* Edited with an introduction by Montagu Slater. The Bodley Head. 15s.

incidentally, it has no concern either with Duty or with Truth." Admittedly he is here writing of poetry and not of all composition, but the important point is that intellect and moral sense are excluded, and this exclusion is equally apparent in the tales. What remains then is the seeking for effect and, in some cases, beauty. In this respect Poe is like the makers of certain films. He considers the box office, and, having decided that a certain emotional effect will be a draw, he selects dialogue, sets and music to create that effect. But this is a cinema with no Hays office, and Poe frequently and deliberately sets out to put across those aspects of his mind which will cause in us a responding *frisson*.

This may also account for the reluctance with which we return to many of Poe's writings. As to a film we go gladly to him for the first time, but seldom return except to the few best works.

The argument may be taken a stage further by considering the degree of Poe's success in achieving his desired effect. In the first place, the effect is usually entirely emotional ; Poe writes of the soul as being susceptible, but it is clear throughout his works that he is unwilling to give us more than an occasional brief glance into his own, and he is therefore unlikely to produce other than an emotional effect. Poe, of course, was writing to a deadline, and he was writing for magazines ; so, to be fair, his effects should be judged by individual works and not by collections, and by first, quick readings rather than by mature consideration. By these standards, he is peculiarly successful in many of the shorter tales and in most of the better-known poems. But American writers have never been distinguished for dramatic reticence, and to our judgment there is a certain monotony of emotional words.

His vocabulary has been catalogued, and it would be interesting to know how many times occur such words as " speechless ", " shriek ", " horror ", " frantically ", or " agony ". In Virgil or Evelyn Waugh, whom we re-read with pleasure, they are rare. This monotony, and the occasionally inopportune phrase or idea re-awaken our critical faculty which Poe has been trying to drug by the calm, matter-of-fact or scientific way in which he often starts us off.

Apart from these, however, the effect of reading the works which one has not seen before is like that of meeting a man one has heard a good deal about. Or it is like looking back into the ideas and fears of our own youth. For Poe is most successful where he is evoking in us the emotions which he himself experiences most strongly, and which most of us felt, at least when we were younger ; and here we feel the contact with him as Baudelaire felt with his readers when he wrote of that worst monster in the infamous menagerie of our vices :

> C'est l'Ennui ! - L'oeil chargé d'un pleur involuntaire
> Il rêve d'échafauds en fumant son houka
> Tu le connais, lecteur, ce monstre délicat,
> —Hypocrite lecteur, — mon semblable — mon frère!

SOCIAL SURVEYS, by D. Caradog Jones. *Hutchinson's University Library.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE ENGLISH MIDDLE CLASSES, by Roy Lewis and Angus Maude. *Phoenix House.* 15*s.*

Social Surveys sets out to trace the growth of scientific inquiry into social facts from Domesday Book to the present day. It is intended to be a simple introduction for students but its appeal should be wider. It explains to the layman the general principles of sampling, how it is that conclusions about the whole population can be drawn from a study of quite small numbers. It does so, not by abstruse theoretical discussion but by showing how in practice the job has been tackled in actual cases. It is written by a master of the subject and the

practical hints and the warnings it gives will therefore be of great service to the many people in these days who want to make some quantitative examination of social phenomena. This is a most important contribution to make for there is no virtue in multiplying surveys if their conclusions are unreliable or ambiguous.

Surveys are fashionable now-a-days and in consequence are too often amateurish. This book should do much to raise the standard and it should be read by all non-statisticians who need to make social investigations. It should also help laymen to be less sceptical of the validity of sample surveys when they can appreciate what is being done and how.

Mr. Caradog Jones quotes with some approval a definition of a social survey as " a fact finding study dealing chiefly with working class poverty and with the nature and problems of the community." By this rule *The English Middle Classes* is not a social survey. It is certainly concerned with the nature and with some of the problems of the community ; it is not interested in working class poverty and not over anxious about fact finding.

Here we are in a world far removed from mean square deviations and standard errors of estimate. There are plenty of references but one is struck by the number of startling, perhaps true, statements for which no kind of authority is given. How do the authors know that most of the scientists in the Civil Service are socialists ; that many appointments to good jobs in nationalized industry have been made on no other grounds than those of political nepotism ? Who says that the headmaster of a private school thinks less of taking parties of children to the local gas works than does the head of a council school ? The L.C.C. frequently offers new sites for shops to co-operative and multiple stores because they can pay higher rents than private traders ; during the fuel crisis less responsible members of the middle classes left their electric fires on all day in order to get Mr. Shinwell out of office : the authors may be right but they ought to know that Lord Salisbury did not say : " We must educate our masters " and it cannot be true that the maximum salary under the Burnham Scale for the headmaster of a grant-aided school is £750.

If this were a social survey in Mr. Caradog Jones's sense, it would be a bad one. But it is not that at all. It is really a Forsyte scrap book, unselective and uncritical but very much alive. It is packed with apposite quotations, cuttings from *The Times*, letters from the *Evening Standard* and so on. The authors have a splendid time airing their prejudices on a wonderful mixture of subjects. If you share those prejudices you will enjoy it enormously ; if you do not it will be a good discipline, so it should be read anyway.

Its inherent weakness as a serious study is that the authors are looking for something that probably does not exist. Their pseudo-Marxian categories of class do not fit modern British society, as they find when they try to apply them with any precision. The middle class is said to be from 33 to 49 per cent. of the population but if the net is spread as wide as that, it includes a majority who show few of what at other times the authors describe as essential characteristics, who send their children to State schools as a matter of course and are glad to enjoy the benefits of the welfare State.

They are not really writing about a class but about everybody, rich or poor, who likes to think himself superior to his neighbour. That they think to be an admirable sentiment. The authors have heard of Professor Tawney for they quote him (a little patronizingly) but they show no signs of having read *Equality*. They should do so at once—on their knees.

JAMES E. MACCOLL.

THE NAVY AND THE SLAVE TRADE, by Christopher Lloyd. *Longmans.* 21*s.*

LETTERS FROM LORD NELSON, compiled by Geoffrey Rawson. *Staples Press.* 21*s.*

In the historical atlas of the future the map showing the British Empire at its zenith should be followed, in fairness, by a map showing, in addition, the areas which might have been included but were not. If to this were added a table showing how belated and reluctant half the annexations were, a future generation might well be astounded at our moderation.

But the facts which destroy the legend of imperial greed destroy, almost as effectively, the legend of the imperial mission. Mr. Lloyd describes for us the British efforts in the nineteenth century to abolish, under foreign flags, the slave trade which, under the red ensign, became illegal in 1807. The motive was almost purely altruistic but the measures taken for long fell short of their desired effect. No final success was possible without annexing the ports from which the slaves were shipped—a step which successive governments refused to contemplate. It was the capture of Lagos in 1861 and the virtual annexation of Zanzibar in 1873 which ended the trade, in West and East Africa respectively, in so far as Britain was responsible for ending it. In the meanwhile, the story of the naval operations is one of persistence, heroism, frustration and virtual failure. To this story Mr. Lloyd has done ample justice. His work, based on the most painstaking research, is surely definitive. He follows both the navy's work and the fluctuations of public opinion in England. He shirks neither the propaganda at home nor the tortuous diplomacy abroad. His judgment is balanced, his conclusions fair and his scholarship meticulous. When the abolition of the trade was being canvassed in England one objection frequently made was that the trade would merely continue in other (and less humane) hands. Mr. Lloyd's book proves, ironically, that this objection was well-founded. This is, in fact, what happened. The book deserves, and should have, the widest circulation.

Upon another book about Nelson one must look, initially, with some suspicion. But Commander Rawson's publishers attempt to disarm us at the outset by claiming that theirs is a book *by* Nelson. So, in effect, it is. And, granted that Sir Harris Nicolas's volumes be thought too cumbersome for the shelf, there is justification for a new and selected edition, with such further letters added as have more recently come to light. This edition, of over 460 pages, the contents well chosen and the printing excellent, should prove popular. It should be read, however, in conjunction with Carola Oman's biography, for the letters are not self-explanatory and the added notes are, if anything, less than the minimum they are supposed to represent. To the naval officer already familiar with Nelson's life this book should be valuable and would repay careful re-reading. It is not, on the other hand, a book for the historian. Commander Rawson has lessened its value to the student by omitting to state the source of each letter quoted and the whereabouts (if known) of the original. Minor errors in the notes include a reference (page 70) to impressed men in time of peace and to Napoleon's " whiff of grape-shot " at the recapture of Toulon. More surprising still is the statement on page 75 that " Nelson was a true-blue Tory." He was, in point of fact, as definite a Whig as any descendant of the Walpole family might be expected to be. He says as much, moreover, in a letter which the editor quotes on another page. His Whig views did him no good in a period of mainly Tory rule ; neither did his connection with St. Vincent (an extreme Whig) and the Duke of Clarence (who was almost a radical). The tradition that flag officers should have no politics—which means voting Conservative—is more recent than is

commonly supposed. But the political background of the eighteenth century navy has been too little studied to be widely known.

C. NORTHCOTE PARKINSON.

RUSSIA : A SHORT HISTORY, by Helen Gay Pratt and Harriet Ellen Moore. *Cassell.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

This book appears to be intended for Americans and its theme is that peace with Russia is a good thing. With an entertaining misprint it states that : " Perhaps the best way to get an idea of Russia's basic post-war arms " (sic) " is to quote in part the answer given by a leading Soviet journalist to the question ' What does Russia want ? ' " To quote in part from the quotation : " We want peace . . . We want to have loyal friends throughout the world " (like Dr. Nunn May ?) . . . " We realize that those European politicians—not only German Fascists but British reactionaries as well—who have always sought to sow the seeds of enmity towards the Soviet Union do not relish the prospect of our being on good terms with our neighbours . . . What United States interests are threatened by friendship between the Soviet Union and democratic Poland, democratic Bulgaria and other countries ? We realize that we live in a world that respects strong men and strong nations, a world in which the lot of weak men and weak nations is an unenviable one." The only trouble in this best of all possible worlds, clearly, is that the British imperialist, incarnate in those twin beasts of Fascist aggression, Attlee and Churchill, is on the warpath again.

People whose stomachs are strong enough to digest such material, and there are some, will assess this as a good book and a valuable contribution to international understanding. But even for the weaker brethren, such as this reviewer, the outline of Russian history, as distinct from their glosses on it, that the authors present is full of interest, not adding, perhaps, to the sum of knowledge, but summarizing what is already known in a graphic and vivid manner. Life in the nineteenth century, the boredom of the professional classes, the miseries of the city worker and the peasant, and the latter's sense of estrangement from those more fortunately placed, are described in a series of apt quotatons from Gorki and Chekhov, Turgenev and Dostoievsky. Nor can complaint legitimately be made on the score of inaccuracy about the chapters dealing with post-war Russia, and there is frank criticism here and there of some of the policies that have from time to time been pursued, such as the pace at which collectivization of the farms was forced through : though needless to say no opinion is expressed on the humanity, or lack of it, by which the process known as the liquidation of the Kulaks was carried out.

And why should there be, it may be asked ? It is the function of the historian to record facts, not to express opinions. True enough ; but a factual record may be used, deliberately or otherwise, for the purpose of concealing or suppressing truth. The historian, the communist, or a mature man or woman with an independent set of moral values, will have little difficulty in filling the gaps in these historians' story, to his or her own satisfaction. It is among the immature and the half-educated that the authors' excessive artlessness, or excessive sophistication, whichever it may be, will do some harm.

W. T. WELLS.

THE SELECTIVE TRAVELLER IN PORTUGAL, by Ann Bridge and Susan Lowndes. *Evans.* 21*s.*

The title exactly describes the purpose of this book. The authors entertain a full and proper appreciation of the genus ' guide-book ' but, with years of happy and fascinated residence in Portugal, Ann Bridge as wife of a former Ambassador and Susan Marques (daughter of Mrs. Belloc Lowndes), the wife of a notable journalist, have felt the desire to com-

municate to others their mood of felicity. And they have done the job admirably, *con amore* but without gush.

Certainly, the special attraction of Portugal is its unashamed vindication of an earlier, simpler form of civilization. Here is (save only for the restoring itch of the Portuguese Commission on Ancient Monuments !) the rustic simplicity combined with exuberance and colour which can be found in no other part of western Europe. Spain may offer sights more grandiose, colours no less vivid, customs no less picturesque, but, withal, there is in Spanish life a bareness and grimness of landscape or a tang of fatalism which are redolent of Africa, not of Europe. The traveller in Portugal can find balm for his soul in scenery, climate and an astonishing variety of wild flowers—Ann Bridge found herself here in her element as an amateur botanist ; in a cluster of architectural gems in the so-called Manueline baroque style " foliating and floriferating in indescribable exuberance " ; and, not least, in an attitude towards the fruits of the earth which is well described here as one of " reverential joy."

The book, with a profusion of illustrations and good maps, covers the whole country, including Madeira and the Azores, and the guide is prefaced by two excellent chapters on " historical landmarks " and " the land and the people." Portugal is so often written off as a backward country. But, with cork trees growing all over the fields on the big estates, it is not surprising that the farmers find more use for old-time patient oxen than for tractors. In the north, where the peasants have their tiny parcels of land, and the sloping ground is laid out in terraces, ploughs are often impracticable, and

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digging by hand is the rule. Yet these highly intelligent cultivators work so well, we are told, that the country is almost self-supporting in cereals. Its industrial economy is primitive enough—but the general standard of living is another story. What the authors bring out so well is that, apart from the Douro vintage celebrations each year, which are famed, a similar happy friendliness and festiveness, in a religious setting accompanies every kind of harvesting—and indeed manifold other rural operations.

Of all the places described here Nazaré, for the present reviewer, holds the palm. This little fishing town on the west, only 13 kilometres from the national shrine of Alcobaça, is the acme of the picturesque. Its inhabitants, allegedly Phoenician in origin, have facial features recalling the profiles on Greek vases :

> they cling . . . to their own peculiar form of dress, a sort of rough harsh wool tartan in large broken squares of brilliant colours—reds, pinks, blues, greens, clear yellows, buff and orange-y shades ; the women wear this in the form of full-pleated skirts, stitched close over the hips, the men as shirts and trousers—but a man will wear pink tartan trousers below an orange tartan shirt, and both may be liberally patched with yet some other shade . . . The women usually wear over their heads a black fringed shawl falling to below the waist, with a curious little cloth peak above the forehead, and gold dangling ear-rings in the form of crescent moons—their skirts are bunched out with three or four layers of petticoats, scalloped round the hem . . .

W. Horsfall Carter.

THE NEW CONGO, by Tom Marvel. *Macdonald.* 15*s.*

THE AMAZON, by Hakon Mielche. *Hodge.* 15*s.*

Here, measured by their year-by-year flow, we have the two greatest rivers in the world, for it is only the Amazon which exceeds the Congo in volume of water discharged into the sea. Both these rivers were discovered by the Portuguese, though they are to-day in other hands. It is, by the way, interesting to know that manioc or cassava, the most important food plant of the Congo basin, was brought thither from Brazil by the Portuguese. Indeed one is led to wonder what the Africans ate before oversea callers introduced their own plant foods, seeing that cacao, Indian corn, tomatoes, pineapples and potatoes all came from the New World, while rice came from Asia, the orange from China and sugar-cane from the East Indies. However the natives of the Belgian Congo lead a very pleasant life in our time, not merely in the matter of food but reaping the benefit of a wise and benevolent administration. Thus in the maternity hospitals women report as early as six months before the baby is due and the prejudice of the natives against windows is being overcome. You can now almost tell the degree of evolution of a native by the number of windows in his house.

Mr. Marvel is an American who first visited the Congo during the war ; he subsequently returned and made a 9,000 mile circular tour of the colony, investigating the conditions with the utmost care and the result is a striking picture of such progress that the lurid reports of what occurred in the days of Leopold II would seem to be centuries ago. The Belgian Government was then disinclined to accept the burden of colonial responsibility. The King used to say that the Congo was his monument ; it is to-day rather a monument to the genius of the Belgian people. But it was Leopold's vision and energy which awakened that genius.

Among the numerous leaders to whom we are introduced there is the King of Ruanda, a gracious ruler standing six foot, ten inches in height ; a pygmy, some four and a half feet tall, who when captured could not comprehend why he was not eaten ; wives who when their husband is taken to hospital are allowed to sleep on the floor underneath his cot ; and other picturesque details that make this a most worth-while book.

Mr. Mielche is a Dane whose travels

in South America have been very thorough. This time he takes us to the Amazon, near whose mouth is an island, Marajo, that is larger than the whole of Denmark. One expects the tropics to be fruitful and in this island our friend counted 27 different kinds of fruit trees, their heavily laden branches bowed over his head. His host kept a boa-constrictor about five feet long, thanks to which there was not a single rat on his property. He also possessed thousands of water-buffalo ; to turn those very wild creatures into domestic animals appears to be not only a sport, but also a highly lucrative enterprise. One of the marginal sketches with which Mr. Mielche always adorns his books shows us a water-buffalo of ferocious aspect ; and when the author was on the branch of a tree that began to quake as 15 buffaloes surrounded him he was less than happy.

This book, which is excellently translated by Mr. M. A. Michael, tells us amusingly and instructively what we would meet on that mighty river. After the American Civil War certain fanatical Southerners preferred to give up their country rather than their right to keep slaves ; so they migrated to Brazil, at that time the only country where slavery was still tolerated. They settled near the town of Santarem on the Amazon, and that is the sole Anglo-Saxon colony, says Mr. Mielche, which he has found allowing itself to be absorbed into the community among which it has settled.

Another American enterprise was that of Henry Ford and his millions of rubber trees in great clearings by the river. He finally gave up and now the Brazilian Government is carrying on his work ; time will show whether it will prove successful. The workers

JOHN ARLOTT

Concerning Cricket

John Arlott has collected together a variety of his essays in which he illuminates many different aspects of cricket. Throughout the book, he emphasizes the humanity of the game, attaching more importance to a man's play than to his score. The book will bring delight to all who love cricket ; and it is written in that pleasant, easy style which has made John Arlott famous as writer and radio commentator.

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LONGMANS

on the plantation, at any rate, have welcomed the change, for they are no longer forced to eat asparagus, butter, green salads, tomatoes, cheese and other products rich in vitamins, but which in the opinion of the Brazilian working man are not suitable for human consumption.

HENRY BAERLEIN.

DAY AFTER DAY, by Odd Nansen. *Putnam.* 21*s.*

This book will leave a profound impression with those who can bring themselves to read it. Being a diary, it is written objectively and with no attempt to dramatize ; but it conjures up scenes of horror and degradation which will not easily be forgotten. Here is a grim testament of the folly and brutality of man.

Odd Nansen was imprisoned in Norway in 1942 as a political hostage. Because of his courage and his prestige among his fellow-prisoners, he fell steadily deeper into German disfavour ; it was an attempt on his part to have a brutal young German drill-sergeant removed from office that eventually caused Odd Nansen's transfer to the notorious German concentration camp at Sachsenhausen. Day after day he wrote his diary, in small hand and on thin paper. All but one section of it was safely preserved inside ingenious breadboards which he made for himself and his closest friends. The story covers four years and fills 600 pages.

Those episodes which take place in the Norwegian camps suffice to arouse indignation and shame, but the pages written in Sachsenhausen are far, far more terrible. " There are no words left to describe the horrors I have seen with my own eyes," Odd Nansen writes on February 12, 1945, after a thousand starving Jews had arrived in the camp, looking and behaving more like ravenous beasts than men and being treated as creatures lower than vermin. By the time Count Bernadotte arrived on his mission of mercy to the concentration camps—that same Bernadotte who was to be the victim of Jewish fanatics—the terror had reached its climax and death must have seemed preferable to the hell of living.

Difficulties and dangers may promote comradeship and heroism, but the bestial conditions of these camps eventually rendered men incapable of moral feelings. True, in Sachsenhausen there was a small clique which the Germans named the Bible-searchers ; but in general the devil reigned supreme. Men made morbid jokes about the crematorium, bartered tickets for the brothel, stole from one another ; children provided slave-labour for the gas-chambers. " If there were a God, he would be bound to stop this now," the author cries out.

True to the traditions of his father, Odd Nansen remains throughout a humanist. His family is never far from his thoughts and his constant endeavour is to help his fellow-prisoners to keep contact with their homes. He is capable of finding goodness in one of his S.S. guards ; he is deeply moved by the courage of young men in the face of death ; he wants no revenge. When others of necessity harden their hearts, he remained sensitive to human degradation. Reinforcing his prose with pencil drawings he has given us a faithful record of the slavery and persecution which for so long the Nazis successfully hid from the world.

" There is still a danger that it may happen again," the postscript says. Is it not known that in Siberia a system of slavery only slightly less brutal is in existence to-day ? " It was the indifference of mankind that let it take place." Then what would Mr. Nansen have us do ?

NIGEL BRUCE

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND OTHER ESSAYS, by G. M. Trevelyan. *Longmans.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Dr. G. M. Trevelyan is one of the greatest English exponents of readable history. His *History of England* is a distinguished text-book, his three

volumes on Garibaldi among the great romantic histories, and his more recent *Social History*—although eventually it may be found of less importance—a strong best-seller. Beyond all this he has himself become an English figure—Master of Trinity, a leader of good causes like the National Trust, a member of the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge.

For a man who can write with the best and unite judgment with passion in a noble page his " Autobiography of an Historian ", which takes only fifty pages of this book, is curiously lifeless and flat. It may be that he is not interested in himself. " I never kept a journal," he says, " and I never wrote a private letter worth printing." He gave himself fairly stringent limits ; he decided to mention " from the throng of things remembered " solely " the influences which led me to write my books, the only part of my activities and opinions which concern the public." This is perhaps a fine and somewhat unusual resolve—one remembers the odious garrulity of lesser men—but it does not lend itself to lively autobiography.

Fortunately four-fifths of this book is given to random essays and lectures. There is a notable appraisal of Cromwell —the tribute of a modern Whig, a pleasant address on " The Call and Claims of Natural Beauty ", decorated with lyrical quotations, and some shorter pieces on Swift, Milton's *Areopagitica* and other subjects of this sort. But the delight of the volume are its essays on " History and the Reader ", " Bias in History " and " Stray Thoughts on History ". They erect no profound theories but are filled with flashes of historian's wisdom. They are meditative, conversational ; although some of them were given as lectures they might have been heard first in snatches on some corner of a Cambridge lawn late on a summer evening. In them a senior historian attempts his own answer to the question: What is history ? " A science, no more and no less " answered Professor Bury, the author's predecessor in the Cambridge Chair. " I argued," says Dr. Trevelyan on the other hand, " that it was both a science and an art : that the discovery of historical facts should be scientific in method, but the exposition of them for the reader partook of the nature of art, the art of written words commonly called literature."

Certainly at some stage history must become literature, if it is to maintain the fascination for men's minds that it has so far always had. But with literature, feeling must have entered in, and feeling makes its own interpretation of facts. A knowledge of history does not supply the means of controlling events, any more than a knowledge of people, gathered over a long life, gives the power to predict, still less to guide, any one person's action. But history, like skill in personal relations, supplies understanding. It makes the world seem to hang together ; it minimizes surprise before events ; and gives a background against which modern judgments may be made. It is not an infallible guide to policy, but it is an approximate guide. One can learn much from history, for instance, about the probable course of relations between victors and vanquished. The trouble is that in such matters too little heed is usually paid to history.

Dr. Trevelyan's essays stir the mind to meditate upon man's story. They are the eventide wisdom of a great historian.

WALTER JAMES.

SHAKESPEARE, by Ivor Brown. *Collins.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

In the tremendous and limitless graveyard which coffins all forgotten books several square miles must be needed to contain those written about Shakespeare. Those that have survived would fill an adequate public library. Dr. Johnson, the critics of the Romantic Revival, A. C. Bradley, John Masefield, and a number of well informed scholars and

critics would be on those shelves, representing the literary and academic point of view. Harley Granville-Barker could be trusted to speak for the theatre. And now here is Mr. Ivor Brown to add his word for Scotland, Balliol, the Civil Service, journalism, dramatic criticism, the epicure of words, the bored school-child, the man in the pub, and the man in the street.

Shakespeare was not one of his first literary loves : " I was first introduced to Shakespeare by Harris's book, *The Man Shakespeare and His Tragic Life Story*, to which in turn I had been brought by Arnold Bennett. Like most schoolboys I had been sickened of Shakespeare by education. I was wearied almost to revolt by this examination business of commenting and annotating. All too well did I know and was able to repeat on paper what the Rialto was : I could define an argosy to any teacher's delight and could be profound about Arden, Ducdame, and the Significance of Jaques. Hour after hour I had estimated Significances, contrasted Characters, explained Allusions. By the age of eighteen I was allergic to Shakespeare almost beyond hope of therapy."

Only a week or two ago a bright young taxi-driver drove me from the station to the Memorial Theatre at Stratford. I asked him if he had seen the lively production of *Much Ado About Nothing*. " I've lived here all my life," he replied, " and I've never been inside the Theatre. We had too much Shakespeare at school." It is indeed true that Shakespeare has become an examination bogey to the children of half the world, and it will take Sir Laurence Olivier and the silver screen to remove him from that unenviable position.

Ivor Brown has written a book which will, I believe, appeal to a vast diversity of people. The Magnet of Avon would certainly get a great deal of fun out of it himself if he were in a position to read it. The learned and the pedantic have already enjoyed themselves finding fault at this and that, taking objection to the style—or styles—in which the book is written, but I have never before read an appreciation of the great man and his work that is at the same time so brave, so consistently readable, so enlightening, and so lively. Any of the people mentioned earlier who have been inoculated against Shakespeare when in the dreadful toils of Eng. Lit. should read what Mr. Brown has written because he has rightly stressed one aspect of Shakespeare's life and work that is so often forgotten.

Here was a supreme poet who, by circumstance or inclination, made his living by acting, managing and writing plays, and by some shrewd investing too. Mr. Brown has given his considered opinions about Shakespeare seen from a number of angles, and he has written with true and temperate enthusiasm about the plays and poems. Every lover of Shakespeare will find something to please him in Mr. Brown's book and the unconverted, the apathetic, and the hostile are most likely to find reward in it.

ERIC GILLETT.

THE PICK OF TO-DAY'S SHORT STORIES. Selected, and with an Introduction and Notes, by John Pudney. *Odhams Press.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

CHARACTER AND SITUATION. Six Short Stories, by Christopher Sykes. *Collins.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

THE FERRET WAS ABRAHAM'S DAUGHTER, by Fred Urquhart. *Methuen.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

" The craft of short-story writing, " Mr. Pudney points out in his excellent Introduction to *The Pick of To-day's Short Stories*, " is still little more than a century old " ; he goes on rightly to suggest that the ' new medium ' is one peculiarly suited to the needs of our age, lending itself, as well as to inclusion in books, to " radio representation and to cinema technique." It is pleasant to be able to say at once that this is a fine collection indeed. Here are twenty-four short stories, each of

something less than 10,000 words and most of them by well-known contemporary British writers. I found the entertainment value of nearly all these stories high ; but here are subjects for everybody, for the themes are decidedly varied. Mr. Pudney's taste is nothing if not catholic. Criticism therefore is obliged to fall back on personal preference, and I can only mention and recommend as outstandingly effective in their different ways the following few tales : " The Major of Hussars " by that masterly practitioner of the short story, H. E. Bates, " The Needle-Case ", subtly delicate, by Elizabeth Bowen, " Now It Is The World " by Arthur Calder-Marshall, a real penetration into the world of childhood, " The Hint Of An Explanation ", religiously deep, by Graham Greene, " Some Other Star", ironically dramatic, by Gerald Kersh, and " Joy As It Flies ", clever, romantic and witty, by Eric Linklater. The book is very nicely produced.

Character And Situation falls short chiefly in its dull title, which suggests surely a chapter from a text-book on novel-writing or a treatise on dramatic construction rather than a book of six interesting short stories with unusual backgrounds in different parts of the world. Readers of *Four Studies In Loyalty* will expect from Mr. Sykes an urbane and leisured style, and matter which, though perhaps lacking in gusto, nevertheless constantly titillates one's excitement and curiosity. Welcome, too, is the comedy in these tales (sometimes we feel fact overmuch intruding on fiction) as in " The Sacred And The Profane " where a church chalice becomes the trophy for a horse race, the " Interview " of a successful novelist with his prospective, non-literary son-in-law, or in the odd adventure of a politically leftish canon in wartime Madrid. In the story " Me And My Brother " an alarming car ride through the Persian Desert with a dreadful Tamil chauffeur reveals a canny power of descriptive evocation :

> I noticed that after half an hour or so we took to looking back at the town at intervals. It looked so safe and friendly, and before us stretched the inhuman misery of the desert . . . When we stopped for a snack I noticed the silence. Here was what the whole world would look like after doomsday, and what it once looked like, before man, in primeval drought. The noise of Philip eating a pastry and drinking tea had a kind of terrible improbability about it ; there was no other such sound within many miles. . . . It was strange to think that if one was left there, one would turn into sand. In the eye of eternity it would seem like a drop of water falling into a pool.

Mr. Urquhart's new novel *The Ferret Was Abraham's Daughter* (he has a moving short story " The Ploughing Match " in *The Pick Of To-Day's Short Stories*) impresses because of its realism and sincerity. His background is the coarse, overcrowded life of the inhabitants of the Edinburgh tenements, his more particular theme the mental poverty of an adolescent girl, Bessie Hipkiss, compensating herself for her daily sordid struggle at home with cheap day-dreams of a Hollywood grandeur. Bessie is human and well-drawn, though some of her protracted day-dreams become tedious reading as they were no doubt meant to be ; it is possible, too, that some of Mr. Urquhart's other scenes of gossiping old women and rude kids are over-long. But the novel in general is successful in conveying the courage of Bessie's fight against squalid odds, and in painting a picture of the social setting that made her struggle inevitable. The cumulative scenes of the book inspire pity, and its effect should be salutary.

JOSEPH BRADDOCK.

BOOKCASES are coming back at the Phoenix in increasing supply and in some variety. Prices are, for the present, surprisingly low for the old high quality. Whatever your book-housing problem, get details from the Phoenix Gallery, (Dept. N), 38 William IV Street, Charing Cross (Tem. 0525) ; or better, call and see.

BOOKS ON THE TABLE

What, by repetition here and elsewhere, has become a pet maxim about good women orators, applies with equal force to good women journalists : there are very few of them and they are very good indeed. Take, for example, Rebecca West. Her basic reporting equipment is supplemented by a keen but not undiscriminating wit—she plays fair ; a kind of blest pre-vision, as it were, of her opponents' debating points keeps her considerable powers of logic in working order, and her intelligence, which can only be called terrific, permeates all her work with humanity and a crisp understanding.

Unhappy men

All these desiderata are abundant in THE MEANING OF TREASON (*Macmillan.* 18*s.*). Her accounts of the trials of William Joyce, John Amery, Norman Baillie-Stewart, Allan Nunn May and many other less limelighted traitors, thus go far beyond those of the " eye-witness " category. She can clarify legal issues and if necessary criticize them too. Joyce, as the dust-jacket truly says, " is a point of reference throughout " and radiating from it are seen " the whole complex human drama, the personal history and social background, and ultimately . . . the faults and inadequacies in the very spirit of our society and our time which made themselves manifest in the careers of these unhappy men." Nor must the basic reporter be lost to sight ; from the first sentence in the book to page 340 Miss West's readability never flags.

World language

This cannot be said unreservedly of the spate of tributes to Goethe in this bi-centenary year of his birth. But now, when most of the tumult has died, it is refreshing to retire to a corner with the quiet ESSAYS ON GOETHE (*Cassell.* 16*s.*), prepared in commemoration of the occasion. Edited by Dr. William Rose, who is Reader in German at London University, these are written by such authorities as the Professors of the same language at Edinburgh, Toronto, Birmingham, Manchester and Cincinnati, and the Lecturer and Reader in it at Cambridge and Oxford, with the late president of the Antiquarian Booksellers' Association adding the book collector's point of view. Those who cling to the picture of the young lyric poet with the first part of *Faust* already finished at twenty-four and the rest maturing in him to the end of his long life, will gain through the various aspects of him here some realization of how much of the pavement of German literature he really laid and how deep has been his influence on world philosophy. Professor Barker Fairley says Goethe " had much to say in late life about world-literature as a pooling of the best the nations had to offer for the edification and uniting of a greater community transcending the old boundaries. But he never trifled with thoughts of a world language . . ." ——The Headmaster of Eton, not daunted by the difficulties, is to discuss such a project for half the world in the third of his four Reith Lectures for 1949, being broadcast under the title of " Britain in Europe." The B.B.C. states that Mr. Robert Birley will give a detailed consideration of the kind of programme that would be required to put into practice a " second language " without which European union will be unworkable. This surely is a long step towards that world union which must be the ultimate aim in any plan for survival.

The function of poetry

If, as Mr. Birley will claim, " Europe looks to England for a lead and the responsibility now rests on us, " as individuals we are still far away from the conviction that so weighed on Sidney Keyes :

> This personal responsibility
> For a whole world's disease that is our nightmare.

In a little book, packed so tight with

suggestion that it seems absurdly cheap at the price and called POETRY AND PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY (*S.C.M. Press* 2*s.* 6*d.*), George Every presents " an interim report on contemporary literature " as it bears on some of the signs of the time. His chapter headings are challenges in themselves : Herbert Read and his Friends, The Impact of Joyce, The Poetic Influence of Charles Williams, Beyond the Waste Land and Songs of the Cold. Then he has serious little studies on changes in the novel, in standards of criticism and in the modern mind. Wholehearted recommendation of the book should be accompanied by the fair warning that its author has endeared himself to this reader by a bold saying : " I think that we are moving into an age which, had he lived, might have been called after Sidney Keyes."——Nor is there much to quarrel with in INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF LITERATURE Vol. 1 : POETRY (*Sylvan Press.* 10*s.* 6*d.*)—apart from a spelling of Mr. Middleton Murry's name. Lionel Elvin, the Principal of Ruskin College, goes back to Milton and the artificial style, through Wordsworth and the natural, to get to the impressionistic and T. S. Eliot. He has much sound advice on problems of criticism and taste, for the benefit of aspiring general readers and for earthy reviewers too.

And now to come to the thing itself : A PAGEANT OF ENGLISH VERSE (*Longmans.* 10*s.* 6*d.*) selected by E. W. Parker, who, perhaps understandably, makes but tentative use of the practitioners of the last and present decades. Alex Comfort's name, the last in the book, is but the thirteenth after T. S. Eliot, who finds himself immediate neighbour to Rupert Brooke and Julian Grenfell. Legion as such collections are, they cannot be too many for the poetry lover who is thus permanently cock-a-hoop, either spotting favourites or omissions :— Martyn Skinner in and Keyes not . . . just think how his Wordsworth sonnet would have carved itself a place here . . . especially as there are 15 of Wordsworth himself . . . and only one, though perhaps the best, of Patmore . . . Yet as Mr. Parker has resisted the anthologist's temptation " to use much of his precious space for resurrecting forgotten and unfamiliar work " and is " far from suppressing great poetry because its fame is widespread " his anthology —as it deserves—will please most people.

Why we read

Still being instructed, we come to Walter Allen's READING A NOVEL (*Phoenix House.* 5*s.*) which is another small and cheap book pressed full with wise pronouncement. After examining what he calls good novels and merchandize, and comparing classic and contemporary fiction he turns to the compulsion to use this particular medium and to the place of morals in the creation of characters. He then discusses six novels, by Graham Greene, Virginia Woolf, George Eliot, Christopher Isherwood, Joyce Cary and François Mauriac, in the light of his foregoing chapters. The real reader, he asserts, "like the real poet, is born, not made. But even the poet's gift is nothing without constant practice and exercise ; and that is even more true of the reader's." Like many manifest verities, this one is all the better for being stated so concisely.

Byeways

The born readers will find pleasant reminders of their voracious appetites in LITTLE REVIEWS ANTHOLOGY 1949 (*Methuen.* 10*s.* 6*d.*) edited by Denys Val Baker. Pieces half forgotten but enjoyed at the time, like " The Declining Nude " by Quentin Crisp and Daniel George's " An Alphabet of Literary Prejudice " both from *The Windmill*, or Walter Allen's " D. H. Lawrence " in *Penguin New Writing* are now preserved. Modern verse, from Dylan Thomas in *Horizon* to Gloria Komai's charming " Earth Pushes Up the Frosted Window " in *Poetry Review*, is painstakingly selected, with first place going here to C. Fox Smith's " Old

Cob Wall", from *West Country Magazine*, whose last twelve lines are printed consecutively to save space :

> He gived a bit And then a lot, And at the finish Down he squat. And now, since barns Has got to be, Us'll build another 'Stead of he. But not the same He was afore, 'Cos no one builds Cob walls no more.

Although, in the second group of poems, John Betjeman's " To My Son " from *Wind and the Rain* called for a ' photo finish ', so close it was.—— Another, rather less orthodox anthology is VICTORIAN BYEWAYS compiled by Vera M. Snelling (*Staples*. 12*s*. 6*d*.). Her contention is that these, " once much frequented, have become neglected and overgrown." It is hard to think of Walter Bagehot, Ernest Dowson, Edward Fitzgerald, Charles Kingsley, John Stuart Mill, William Morris, Coventry Patmore, John Addington Symonds and Oscar Wilde as some of the byeways, so perhaps the term refers rather to the extracts, many of which, it might be more correct to say, are lost among the tall trees of their authors' major works. This then, was a pleasant enough walk along a forest glade, without recourse to shears or hoe, there being no civilized reason for grubbing up snowdrops or bluebells or celandines.

A lost art

Some of literature's wild flowers are letters, and in THE PERSONAL ART (*Longmans*. 15*s*.) Philip Wayne has made a comprehensive selection : from Jane Austen's admirably clear-sighted exposition of her true sphere as an author to Christopher Wren's return of the watch whose " every Beating of the Ballance will tell you 'tis the pulse of my Heart." Here again, there are favourites and omissions ; to one who has just read the Shaw-Terry correspondence for the first time and has been hounded into the slave labour of verse as the only means of expressing its effect, the inclusion of these two seems overwhelmingly obvious, obvious though the reason may be for their absence. But compensation is ample ; there is the magnificent indignation of Johnson, the gentleness of Cowper, the eye-dimming pathos of Keats to Shelley, and there is the sophisticated, the garden flower wit of Sydney Smith.

Yorick

Which brings us to the delighted consideration of COMEDY (*Hutchinson's University Press*. 7*s*. 6*d*.). L. J. Potts, Cambridge University Lecturer in English, states his case firmly in the first sentence : " Of all kinds of literature comedy has the widest appeal." From the Greeks, upon whom the Romans and the Elizabethans in turn modelled themselves, " and so onwards, to Molière and Mr. Bernard Shaw," he shows just how wide the appeal has been. In delineating subject matter, style, character and plot he draws his examples from English comedy back to Chaucer. Though the giants have their natural place here, so too has an Addison, a Jane Austen, a Steele, a Max Beerbohm, a Sterne. It will be seen that this book could hardly fail to be as enticing to read as it probably was for its author to write.

Wood and glue

But " mental fight " must not crowd out manual labour and TREEN by Edward H. Pinto (*Batsford*. 25*s*.) is a large and handsome picture book devoted to " small woodware throughout the ages." From the peasant art of spoon and platter to elaborate jewel boxes—and the gamut runs through backscratchers, birdscarers, combs, dough bins, egg timers, footwarmers, horse collars, lark lures, pincushions, rattles, stay busks, tongs and wig-stands—collector and wondering ignoramus alike may profit from what is claimed to be " the first book to illustrate, systemize and describe one of the most beautiful and least appreciated of the minor arts of Europe."

GRACE BANYARD.

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